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# **Decorum of Senate** Could Help President

Historically, Chamber Has Shied From Partisan Tactics of the House

By Adam Clymer
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - President Bill Clinton's strategy for survival depends on the differences between the Senste and the House, differences intended by the framers of the constitution and at least as evident today as they were when the Senate acquitted President Andrew Johnson in 1868.

The constitutional difference is obvious. In terms of impeachment, on Saturday it took a simple majority of the House to impeach, but it will take a twothirds majority of the Senate to convict if the trial goes to a verdict. The 67-vote requirement, in a Senate with only 55 Republicans, invites the censure solution so ardently desired by the White House.

# Clinton Gains Support and Republicans Slide in Poll

By Adam Nagourney with Michael R. Kagay New York Times Service

NEW YORK - A solid majority of Americans believe that the impeachment of President Bill Clinton was adequate punishment and want the Senate to resolve the case without a trial and without removing him from office, ac-cording to the latest New York Times/ CBS News Poll

The poll provided another piece of evidence of the startling political resilience of Mr. Clingar, Carday after he became the second president in the macent of respondents said they sp-

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Determined Republicans and a defiant Cliaton led to the impeachment vote. Page 2. • White House "encouraged" by Senate soundings. Page 6.

proved of how he was handling his job. Mr. Clinton's job approval rating acmally increased since last week, when it

One of the biggest political concerns of Mr. Clinton's advisers is that the impeachment vote might encourage a round of demands for his resignation.
But the poil found only limited support for resignation: 32 percent of respondents said it would be better for the nation if the president stepped down, while 65 percent said he should finish his term.

This poil found again that the Republican Party was paying a political price for its pursuit of Mr. Clinton. The party is now viewed unfavorably by 58 percent of respondents, up from 52 percent last week. That is the worst standing the party has posted in the 14 years since The Times and CBS first began asking respondents the question. The public

See POLLS, Page 6

## But the political differences are as important. The Senate's considerable sense of self-importance and dignity makes many members fear a trial that would have to deal with the physical details of Mr. Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky. And the negotiating process needed to agree on something mur-ker than "guilty" or "not guilty" is at home in the Senate. Its rules emphasize the rights of individual senators and

Effective leadership there is the art of herd-ANALYSIS ing cats. Senators who get things done make deals across party lines to succeed. In the House, majority parties bully those in the minority. Senators also have to represent constituents of the other party; in the House, partisan genymandering has made it possible to play to only one side.

side.

But there was an air in Washington—
as in the nation—that something had
gone off the rails this weekend. With
articles of impeachment voted by scant
partisan margins, 228 to 206 and 221 to
212, it seemed like a European parliament in a crisis.

Democrats accused the House Republican majority of a naked political power play to undo the election of a president they despised. Republicans insisted that that was nonsense, that if Mr. Chinton was removed from office by the Senate they would be left with another Democrat, Al Gore, as president. And Representative Jim Leach of Iowa, a reluciant vote for impeachment, said that most Republicans assumed that if Mr. Clinton was ousted, the Democrats would be dramatically benefited."

But if they were not making political calculations — and there is little evidence that most Republicans did not take their responsibility seriously — the House may reflect something at least as bad as naked ambition. Maybe worse. Instead, the House that was displayed

to the nation Saturday seemed to rep-To one faction, it was obvious that the obstructed instice, and no less transparent that these were offenses requiring his impeachment, trial and removal from office. To the other, the offenses may have seemed likely, if not proven, but the crimes fell well short of the standard needed for impeachment.

When only 17 representatives, 12 Republicans and 5 Democrats, dissented from the party line as they did on the charge of obstruction of justice, these

See POLITICS, Page 6



TROUBLE WITH CHINA - The ICO Global Challenger, flying Monday through the Himalayas on a round-the-world attempt, faced difficulties getting permission to fly through Chinese airspace. Page 6.

# Beijing Imprisons 2 More Dissidents



Pro-democracy activists holding a portrait of one of the jailed dissidents, Xu Wenli, demonstrated in front of government headquarters in Hong Kong on Monday.

## They Are Sentenced for Trying To Form First Opposition Party

By John Pomfret Washington Post Service

BEUING - Chinese courts on Monday sentenced two leading dissidents to lengthy prison terms for attempting to

start the country's first opposition party.

In meting out sentences of 13 years to Xu Wenli and 11 years to Wang Youcai for attempting to "overthrow state power," the Communist government issued a harsh reminder China's 1.3 billion people that it would not tolerate organized dissent. Last week, President Jiang Zemin vowed

o''nip'' such subversion ''in the bud.''
A third leading dissident was expected to be sentenced

But in sentencing these men, China raised questions about its commitment to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which Beijing signed in October. The covenant enshrines freedom of association as one of its main tenets.

The latest crackdown also raises questions about the Western policy of friendly engagement with China io improve its human rights record. The U.S. Embassy, which has been at the forefront of this policy, branded Mr. Xu's 13-year sentence 'deplorable" and "extremely harsh."

"My husband is not guilty," said He Xintong, Mr. Xu's wife, who added that Mr. Xu would not appeal his verdict because he did not recognize the act of organizing an opposition party as a crime in the first place. "It is China which

"The verdict made me feel numb all over," said Hu Jiangxia, Mr. Wang's wife, who received a phone call Monday afternoon informing her of Mr. Wang's sentence. "These

people have no conscience.' The verdicts - issued against Mr. Xu in Beijing and

See DISSIDENT, Page 4

# IMF Cuts World Growth Forecast as Crisis Lingers

By Mitchell Martin

NEW YORK - The International Monetary Fund reduced its estimate for 1999 world economic growth to 2.2 percent from 2.5 percent on Monday, in-dicating the effects of the financial crisis that began last year in Asia would linger and bringing its forecast into line with

those of private sector economists.
"While the danger of a global recession does seem to have diminished,

market economies is still sharply reduced, and conditions in financial markets remain fragile," the Fund said in a report. "It would therefore be premature

to consider the difficulties to be over." Nonetheless, the Fund, which works to defuse currency problems and pro-mote free trade, advised the U.S. Federal Reserve Board not to reduce interest rates. The policy-making Federal Open

keep monetary policy on hold," Reuters quoted Flemming Larsen, deputy di-rector of the IMF's research depart-

ment, as having said in Washington. Recent rate cuts were "very useful" in restoring calm to global financial markets, he said, but the U.S. economy's growth should now slow to a 'sustainable position.'

The report pegged 1998 U.S. growth at 3.6 percent, a rate that many econ-

including deteriorating conditions in Japan. The IMF estimated the Japanese economy would shrink 0.5 percent next year after contracting 2.8 percent this year. The outlook for U.S. growth in 1999 was trimmed to 1.8 percent from 2 percent in the IMF's September estimate, while the euro-area countries are seen expanding at a combined 2.4 per-

cent rate, down from 2.8 percent.

## Market Committee is to meet Tuesday. omists consider impossible to maintain See FORECAST, Page 6 "For the time being, the advice is to without creating inflationary pressures.

**U.S. Public Still Opposes Ouster** Following President Clinton's Impeachment by the House of Representatives, most Americans believe that he should be purished for

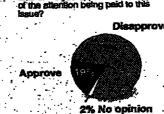
from office, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll: President Clinton faces trial by the U.S.
Senate, which will decide whether or not be should be removed from office.
Do you think the Senate should or should not remove Clinton from office?



1% No opinion

Newsstand Prices

The poli also found that an overwhelming majority of Americans disapprove of what Clinton has called the politics of personal destruction:



By Barry James

International Herald Tribune BRUSSELS - The United States on Monday published a list of European products that it intends to hit with 100 percent tariffs early next year in re-

taliation for what it says is discrim-inatory policy on EU banana imports. The European Union said the pro-posed sanctions were illegal but did not immediately threaten to counter with measures that could result in the biggest trans-Atlantic trade battle in years.

Instead the European Commission, the executive body of the EU, said it would continue its attempts to have the case reviewed by the World Trade Or-

The EU commissioner in charge of trade issues, Sir Leon Brittan, said of the U.S. action, taken under section 301 of the Trade Act: "It is time to take action against the pernicious and unlawful effect of this wholly unilateral legisla-

U.S. Targets EU Goods in Banana Battle

tion. A U.S.-EU summit conference in Washington over the weekend failed to head off the crisis, which could drive a wide range of European products, from greeting cards to handbags, off American store shelves by effectively doubling their prices. The list ranges from Louis Vuitton handbags from France to Pecorino cheese from Italy to bath oils, candles, bed linens, sweaters and other items from across the EU.

"This list is arbitrary in what it covers and arbitrary in its value." Sir Leon said. "It threatens European firms and jobs which have no link with the banana dispute whatsoever. Put simply, it is an example of unilateralism at its worst."

Peter Scher, U.S. special trade am-

bassador, said the list of products was selected with a view to inflicting cost on the EU while minimizing the impact on

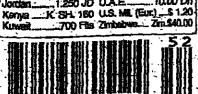
U.S. business and jobs. "The action we are announcing today is intended to send a clear and unambiguous message that the United States will expect countries to meet their obligations, just as we meet ours," he

The case arises from the EU's policy of giving preference to banana imports from former European colonies in the Caribbean and elsewhere, to what Washington says is the detriment of Latin American producers whose products are marketed by two U.S. companies, Dole Food Co. and Chiquita Brands International. The companies say they have lost hundreds of millions of dollars in

See BANANAS, Page 6

# Israeli Parliament Votes in Favor of Early Election

1.000 BD Melts ......55 c Cyprus \_\_\_\_C £ 1.00 Nigeria \_\_ 12600 Naira Denmark 17 DKr Oman 1.250 OR Finland 12.00 PM Quar 10.00 QR £ 0.85 Rep. Ireland\_IR £1.10 Great Britain UK £1.00 Saudi Arabia ... 10 SR CE 5.50 S. Africa ,R16 Incl VAT 1.250 JD U.A.E....... 10.00 Dn



JERUSALEM - The Israeli Parliament voted overwhelmingly Monday to move to an early election after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu failed to secure broad support for his peace policies with the Palestinians.

The vote capped a chaotic session of the 120-member Knesset, where Mr. Netanyahu's rightist coalition has crumbled over the Wye River land-forsecurity accord he signed in October

with Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian president, and which he has now frozen. The opposition bill passed a first reading on a roll-call vote by 81 to 30, with 4

Members of Mr. Netanyahu's Likud party backed the bill, acknowledging that the embattled Israeli leader could no longer command a stable majority. The vote - which Mr. Netanyahu said he would not attempt to negate in two subsequent readings mandated by

abstentions and 5 members absent.

appeal from the prime minister for a national unity government. Slumped in his seat at the Knesset head table, Mr. Netanyahu cast a vote in favor of the elections bill moved by the opposition

Labor Party.

Shortly before the vote, the Labor leader, Ehud Barak, rejected Mr. Netanyahu's dramatic call for a 72-hour recess to explore the chances for a national unity government. "The correct

law - came after a fruitless last-minute way is to go to early elections," Mr. Barak declared in one of the few hushed moments of a rowdy debate.

Members also rejected an appeal by Mr. Netanyahu for cross-party backing for five conditions he has set before the Palestinians for resuming the Wye deal. That call was defeated by a vote of 56 to

48 with 2 abstentions. The early elections bill will require

See ISRAEL, Page 12

# Fervor Dims For Nuclear Inspections Inside Iraq

U.S., Pressured to Make A Gesture to UN Panel, Would Rely on Sensors

By Barbara Crossette

UNITED NATIONS, New York -The Clinton administration, under pressure to make some kind of concession to other members of the Security Council after the bombing of Iraq, appears ready to close the file on nuclear inspections, diplomats and independent arms control

experts said Monday. In line with this policy change, nuclear experts also say that the U.S. Energy Department is stepping up efforts at its Los Alamos and Livermore nuclear research laboratories to develop more sophisticated sensors for environmental monitoring of Iraq, the system the United Nations would have to rely on after most spot inspections end.

For a year, the International Atomic Energy Agency has been reporting that it cannot find evidence of a nuclear weapons program in Iraq, which would

Assessing the damage. • U.S. plans to keep up the pressure. Page 12.

allow the Security Council to end a period of inspections that began in 1991 and shift to a long-term monitoring program. The United States has blocked all ouncil efforts to do this.

But by the time the Security Council assembled Monday morning to begin its assessment of where the United Nations goes next in Iraq, it was apparent to plomats that the United States would have to compromise on something if other arms inspections - of biological, chemical and missile systems -- are to

be reinstituted. The United Nations Special Com-mission, led by Richard Butler, is in charge of those programs. Supporters of for Mr. Butler's resignation, a move the Clinton administration and Britain flatly oppose. There are also calls for a

See IRAQ, Page 12

## AGENDA

	The Dollar	
New York	Monday @ 4 P.M.	previous clos
DM	1.6831	1.66
Yen	116.165	116.
FF	5.6025	5.58
Pound Dollars per po	1.6831 una	1.68
	The Dow	
	Monday close	percent chang
+ 85.22	8,988.85	+ 0.96%
4	S&P 500	
+ 14.87	1,202.84	+ 1.259
	Nasdag	
<b>1</b>		
+ 52.38	2,138.02	+ 2.519

## Primakov Seeks Strategic Triangle

Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov of Russia said Monday that he favored a "strategic triangle" involving China, Russia and India to ensure regional stability. He spoke at the start of an official twoday visit that saw Russia and India sign an accord extending bilateral military cooperation to 2010. "A lot depends in the region on the policies of China, Russia and India." Mr. Primakov said, "If we succeed in establishing a strategic triangle, it will be very good."
The visit, the first by a Russian

leader to India since New Delhi's nuclear tests in May, was overshadowed by the bombing of Iraq by the United States and Britain, Mr. Primakov was asked how Russia would react to renewed air strikes. ' will never change our position," he said. "We are very negative about the use of force bypassing the Security Council." Page 5.

## U.S.-Born Octuplets

A woman gave birth to eight babies Sunday in Houston, Texas. Nkem Chukwu, 27, a native of Nigeria, had taken fertility drugs. The infants were listed in critical condition Monday, but Dr. Patti Savrick, the pediatrician looking after them. said: "They're doing as well as could be expected." Page 3.

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## Impeachment of a President / How It All Happened

Mr. Clinton is mystified

that Republicans would

defy the will of the people.

# The Road to the Vote: Determined Republicans and a Defiant Clinton | | In an

By Jill Abramson, Lizette Alvarez, Richard L. Berke, John M. Broder and Don Van Natta Jr.

New York Times Service ASHINGTON — It appeared to be the ultimate comeback in a career marked by seemingly miraculous political resurrections. The night of Tuesday, Nov. 3, was a time of celebration at the White House. Bill Clinton had again defied the odds, embarrassed the experts and vanquished his political enemies. As election results poured in, it became clear that Mr. Clinton, though not on the ballot, had won a smashing victory

over the Republicans who had bet on his imneachment.

The president gathered with friends and aides in his chief of staff's office to revel in the returns, one of those there recalled, chewing on cigars, drinking wine and delighting in the victory until 2.30 in the morning. The public had spoken. Surely the Republicans must fi-

nally heed its voice. But the despair in the Republican camp was tempered by determination.
The next afternoon, Representative
Henry Hyde, Republican of Illinois, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee that would soon conduct hearings on impeaching the president, dialed a conference call from a meeting room in the O'Hare Airport Hilton in Chicago.

After each of the 20 other Republicans on the committee clicked onto the line, Mr. Hyde somberly delivered his marching orders. "We took a shellacking in the elections," he told his colleagues, several of them recounted last week. "But we have a constitutional duty to carry out, and we always said the election would have no bearing on it. We will

Mr. Clinton and his allies badly misread the resolve of Mr. Hyde and other Republican leaders to
sail into the wind of hostile public opinion. To this day, the
president's friends say, Mr. Clinton, the most poll-driven
In the weekend before his testimony, the president's lawpolitician ever to rise to the presidency, is mystified that Republicans in Congress would defy the poll-tested will of the

people.
In the final days before Saturday's vote, many wavering Republicans argued that they could not trust a president who had stood in the Roosevelt Room of the White House in January and angrily denied having sexual relations with "that woman, Miss Lewinsky." That public lie was not among the impeachment charges, but it stiffened the resolve of the president's opponents.

"That is something a president should never never do," a senior adviser who counts himself a friend of Mr. Clinton, said of the president's defiance that day. "That's most troubling to me. I am still working through forgiving him for it."

But in the view of many, neither did his opponents bring crupon themselves. Some say Kenneth Starr, the in-

andent counsel, sacrificed his reputation for fairness and c.vility in his relentless pursuit of the president.

House Republicans, by refusing to allow a censure measure to reach the House floor and by forcing a partisan vote that succeeded on only two of four impeachment counts, have risked further erosion of their falling public support.

In interviews with the president's advisers, who helped formulate his strategy for dealing with the legal and political

crisis, and with his foes, both in the independent counsel's office and in the Republican congressional leadership, it is apparent that the impeachment vote was inevitable. For example, Mr. Clinton surprised even some of his own

legal advisers by stiffening his denials in the face of ever-more tenacious questions from Mr. Starr and, later, Mr. Hyde. And Mr. Hyde, whose abilities and determination were underestimated in the White House, played a more pivotal role than is generally recognized, pushing impeachment forward as his

party's leadership was plunged into post-election disarray. 'I've always believed that impeachment was avoidable."

By Eric Pace New York Times Service

Mel Fisher, 76, a former chicken

farmer who became a Horatio Alger

figure among undersea treasure hunters.

died Saturday at his home in Key West,

The cause was complications from

cancer, according to the museum in Key

Mr. Fisher found hundreds of thou-

sands of gold and silver coins, jewelry

and bars from old-time Spanish ship-

wrecks in the waters off Florida. He

hunted doggedly for years for the cargo

of a single treasure-packed galleon, the

Nuestra Senora de Atocha, which sank

in 1622 near the Florida Keys. His son,

Kane, located the underwater bounty in

1985 and treasure worth roughly \$400

As a result, a handful of people

including Fisher family members, in-

vestors, and a lawyer for Mr. Fisher,

David Paul Horan - became million-

risky and uncertain trade, Mr. Fisher of-

ten said, "For the fun, the romance and

the adventure." While he searched for

treasure, he liked to say, hopefully and

repeatedly, "Today is the day." Another,

DEATH NOTICE

ABELA Albert, suddenly but peace fully at his London home, aged "Very dear husband of Barbara, devoted and much beloved (ather of Albertino, Marion and families, Loving brother of Nells, Roste, Edwin Nancy and Joseph The funeral will be held in Beirut. Lebanon on Tuesday 22nd December A

brisker, motto was "Finders keepers."

When asked why he had chosen his

West that bears his name.

million was recovered.

Florida.

before voting to impeach Mr. Clinton. "But at each stage, the Democrats doubted his word

courts, a leaky houseboat, debts and far

law died when their boat tipped in 1975.

treasure and in winning title under tra-ditional admiralty law led environmen-

talists, historians and archeologists to persuade the U.S Congress and states to control salvage. In 1987, Congress approved the Abandoned Shipwreck Act,

which put an end to admiralty law and

conveyed to states the title to wrecks

putting shipwrecks off limits, or making

them hard to retrieve along the American

coastline where laissez-faire had tradi-

tionally prevailed. By June 1998, of

thousands of known wrecks, fewer than

20 were under salvage permit. Half were

Last month, Mr. Fisher admitted

selling several counterfeit gold coins at his gift shop in Key West, and agreed to repay the prices of the coins — \$2,500 to

\$10,000 - to purchasers. It had been

asserted that they were from a 1733

Spanish fleet that went aground off the

Keys. Mr. Fisher was born in Gary, Indiana,

Airport workers in Athens called

off a strike that was to have begun Mon-

day, out of "respect for the traveling public," the civil aviation union said. A

series of stoppages had been planned

Mr. Fisher's.

By last summer, new regulations were

within three miles of the coastline.

ter sorrows: a son and daughter-in-

Mr. Fisher's success in discovering

combination of congressional action and executive response worked against bringing closure at an earlier moment."

Moments before Mr. Clinton swore to tell the truth to a federal grand jury on Aug. 17, David Kendall, the president's personal lawyer, asked to speak privately with Mr. Starr in a lawyer on the Philip Henry Page. hallway outside the White House Map Room.

Mr. Kendall told Mr. Starr that the president was prepared to acknowledge that he had an inappropriate relationship with Monica Lewinsky, according to several people with direct knowledge of the encounter. "But," Mr. Kendall warned Mr. Start, "if you go into details, I will fight you to the knife, both here and publish."

And so the president offered what he viewed as a con-cession, underlined by a threat. But Mr.

Starr and his fellow decided to press the president on the details of the relationship; these were critical to the definition "sexual relations" allowed by the judge in Mr. Clinton's deposition in the

Paula Jones sexual harassment suit. "It was clear that the president would only make a limited statement, refuse to provide any details and try to run out the

the president was swayed by polls that showed he would put his 70 percent approval ratings at risk by refusing to testify or by exercising his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination.

Mr. Clinton's lawyers also told the president that it would be suicidal for him to lie to the federal grand jury.

For the president of the United States to lie before a grand jury is a big

deal." a longtime adviser of the president said. "I don't care if the lie is about

ment acknowledging an inappropriate relationship with Ms. Lewinsky and then not answer any specific questions about the nature of the sexual contact. But in the four hours of grand jury

testimony, the president surprised his lawyers by straying from the plan and maintaining that Ms. Lewinsky performed sexual acts on him while he never touched her in a sexual manner, several advisers said. On several points, Mr. Clinton's testimony and Ms. Lewinsky's contradicted each other. At the end of Mr. Clinton's testimony,

At the end of Mr. Clinton's testimony, the prosecutors gathered in their offices. When Mr. Starr repeated Mr. Kendall's threat, "there was an audible gasp' among the 30 lawyers present, said Ronald Rotunda, an aide to Mr. Starr. On Aug. 18, Mr. Starr's prosecutors decided to send to the House of Rep-

resentatives an impeachment referral that would accuse the president of lying repeatedly to the grand jury.

Not long afterward, Mr. Clinton's lawyers received a transcript of Ms. Lewinsky's grand jury testimony. They were shocked to read her detailed ac-

He was known for his optimism despite of Alabama. But he turned to chicken skeptical investors, mixed luck in law farming in California. He later opened a

and was trained as a hydraulic engineer bim even when tested by the most vol-

TRAVEL UPDATE

at Purdue University and the University atile of ballet stars.

count contradicting the president's description of their physical contact. advisers said, was whether Ms. Lewinsky was exaggerating or one

whether Mr. Clinton had misled his own legal team. There was another problem that confronted the president, Representative Jim Leach, an Iowa Republican, said last week his advisers conceded. Many Republicans and even some

diving shop and began searching for

treasure, ultimately moving his family to

Florida where he became a serious treas-

Enrique Martinez, 72, Dancer

New York Times Service

72, a ballet dancer and rehearsal director

at the American Ballet Theater who

staged the classics for troupes in North

and South America and Europe, died

Nov. 17 at St. Luke's-Roosevelt Hos-

The cause was hepatitis, his family

Mr. Martinez was born in Havana,

where he received his ballet training. His

teachers included Alicia Alonso and Ig-

or Schwezoff. He was offered a contract

with Ballet Theater after Lucia Chase,

director of the troupe, saw him per-

forming with a Cuban company. He

joined the New York troupe in 1947 and

and moved up to soloist before becom-

ing a ballet master, ballet director and

assistant director of Ballet Theater. He

was known for a serenity that did not fail

Railroad engineers in Hungary staged a two-hour strike Monday, warn-

ing there would be more to come if they

did not receive a pay raise. A different rail workers' union is to stage a similar

strike Tuesday morning.

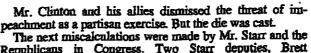
Mr. Martinez started as a corps dancer

NEW YORK - Enrique Martinez,

ure-hunter and salvager.

pital Center in Manhattan.

remained with it until 1980.



Republicans in Congress. Two Starr deputies, Brett Kavanaugh and Stephen Bates, had been assigned to write what became the 445-page Starr report.

"This was not 'Lady Chatterley's Lover,' " said Mr. Rotunda, the aide to Mr. Starr. "It was necessary to include all

those details. The details also made it ring true. WO DAYS after the Starr report's delivery, the full

decided to publish it on the Internet.

Just as Mr. Clinton had sometimes overplayed his hand at crucial moments, the Republicans miscalculated the public's reaction to the report. Parents were not harmfully accounted the public's reaction to the report. soon bombarding congressional offices with complaints that their children were

reading about oral sex on line.

The Republicans had also refused to provide the president's lawyers with an Start's spokesman. "And we saw that as an attempt by the president to defy both the prosecutors and the truth."

Before the grand jury appearance, one of Mr. Clinton's lawyers had strongly counseled him to refuse to testify. But the president was swaved by polls that

ratings fell to single digits.
Yet Mr. Clinton's advisers saw a clear danger in the independent counsel's report. Senior White House aides quietly opened discussions with allies on Capitol Hill to seek a censure resolution as an alternative to the Republican intention to open impeachment hearings.

Almost no political analysts predicted

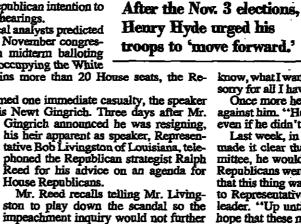
the outcome of the November congressional elections: In midterm balloting when the party not occupying the White House typically gains more than 20 House seats, the Re-

The election claimed one immediate casualty, the speaker and Clinton nemesis Newt Gingrich. Three days after Mr.

Mr. Reed recalls telling Mr. Living-ston to play down the scandal so the

But Mr. Livingston startled Mr. Reed by replying that the march to impeach-

crat on the Judiciary Committee. "That



impeachment inquiry would not further taint the party: "I said, 'Lay low - don't let this impeachment bomb blow up in

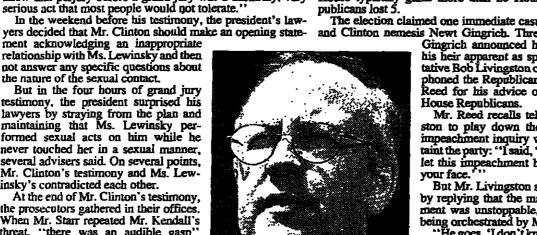
ment was unstoppable, and that it was being orchestrated by Mr. Hyde.

"He goes, 'I don't know how you turn the thing off,' " Mr. Reed said.

"Henry's going to hold hearings. And I don't know how you stop that.' " At the White House, the administration seemed oblivious to the fact that Mr. Hyde and his committee were plumping ahead.

and his committee were plunging ahead.
"The election happened and the media created this delusion that somehow because the Democrats won seats, the Republicans somehow grew less interested in impeachment," said Representative Robert Wexler, a Florida Demo-

What Mr. Clinton's lawyers did not know, several of his just was never the case. From the start, the Republicans had



Some say Kenneth Starr sacrificed his reputation in

his pursuit of Mr. Clinton.

Yet rather than deter Republicans, events after the election made Mr. Clinton's impeachment more likely.

profile because he did not want the beginning of his tenun. be marked by impeachment.

Into the leadership void stepped Representative Tom DeLay, the Republican whip and impeachment firebrand. But behind the scenes it was Mr. Hyde who never wavered from his intention to move forward with impeachment.

On Nov. 6, Mr. Hyde and the Republican majority on his committee made their main move: They submitted 81 questions

to Mr. Clinton for his response.

The president himself was most responsible for the tone of the answers; one adviser said Mr. Clinton believed the ques-

House, in a bipartisan vote, chose on Sept. 9 to release tions were a usp seed it. had committed perjury.

And two days later, Republicans

The responses were lawyerly and finely drawn. But in carefully avoiding finely drawn. But in carefully avoiding any traps posed by the questions, the

president again appeared evasive.

The first question, for example, asked him to "admit or deny" that the president is the chief law-enforcement officer of the United States. Mr. Clinton delicately dodged a direct answer. The president is often said to be the chief law. enforcement officer, he replied, but that role is not among the duties spelled out by the constitution.

Again, the president's defiance, or determination to defend himself, infuri-

ated his enemies. Even Representative James Moran, a moderate Democrat from Virginia, found himself cringing at the 81 responses. "Most of us know the president well enough that he has a bear trap of a memory," he said. "And here he was memory," he said. "And here acting like he had Alzheimer's."

Republicans wanted the president to acknowledge that he lied under oath before the grand jury and in the Jones de-position. On Dec. 11, in a brief Rose Garden speech, Mr. Clinton tried one more time to appease his doubters. 'What I want the American people to know, what I want the Congress to know, is that I am profoung

sorry for all I have done wrong in words and deeds."

Once more he did not specifically address the accusations

Once more he did not specifically address the accusations against him. "He really needed to say that he lied under oath, even if he didn't use the term 'perjury,' "Mr. Moran said:

Last week, in a series of letters and statements, Mr. Hyde made it clear that if a ceusure resolution had left the committee, he would have opposed bringing it to the floor. The Republicans were not going to back down. "Then it was clear that this thing was wired," said Steve Elmenorf, chief of staff to Representative Dick Gephardt of Missouri, the minority leader. "Up until that point? still thought there was some leader. "Up until that point, I still thought there was some hope that these moderates would band together."

On one level, the answer to the question "How did we get here?" is easy. "It's a consequence, first and foremost, of the president's appalling behavior," said Mike McCurry, the president's former press secretary. "And you can't get around it and you can't explain it." But equally important was the determination of Mr. Clin-

ton's political enemies to not see him slip off the hook one more time, even if that meant an unpopular impeachment vote.
On Monday, Mr. Moran, a Democrat who had harshly criticized Mr. Clinton's behavior, went to see the president's secretary while Mr. Clinton was in the Middle East. "I went and talked with Betty Currie," Mr. Moran said.

In the impeachment charges, Mr. Clinton was accused of taking part in a plan involving Mrs. Currie to conceal his gifts to Ms. Lewinsky. Mr. Moran needed to know, he told Mrss. Currie, whether Mr. Clinton had "used a good, decent, honest," civil servant to assist him in covering up evidence."

"So I told her all that," Mr. Moran said. "And she said she does not feel he ever lied her, nor does she feel used, and she feels he is a very good man." The visit help persuade Mr. Moran to vote against impeachment.

Moran to vote against impeachment.

As he returned from Israel on Tuesday evening, the president

before the Senate. The friend admonished the glum-sounding Mr. Clinton. "You've got to fight this thing," the friend said Mr. Gingrich's resignation as speaker removed an embattled Republican leader. And Mr. Livingston kept a low fighting, I'm fighting."

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## THE AMERICAS

# In a Venezuelan Prison, Little Law and No Order

Every Aspect of the System Is Overloaded And Not Functioning,' Rights Monitor Says

By Diana Jean Schemo

CIUDAD BOLIVAR, Venezuela -The prison here is called a center for rehabilitation, but perhaps nowhere in Venezuela do the words have less meaning than inside its gate.

Even prison administrators dare not cross the portal to the area inside that inmates have carved into competing fiefdoms. Cramming themselves into a space built for 400, the 1,200 men and \_\$2 women have blasted holes through walls, taken over a schoolroom and thrown up cardboard shacks. Corridors and yards have names — The Ranch and

The Tank — and armed borders. A new turf may begin at a stairwell or corridor bend with groups of inmates makeshift guns, knives and sahers flast-ing from their belts — standing guard. Virtually every immate is scarred, and many are bandaged.

But there are also surprising visions of grace: healthier immates nursing those who are sick, one carving figures and jewelry from stone, two groups that have devised ovens to bake cakes.

With crime surging and frustration with crime surging — suspects have been lynched — Venezuela has been sending growing numbers of people to prison. Its 33 prisons, built to house 15,000 inmates, now hold more than

24,000.
"They're the most violent, most dangerous prisons in the world," said Joanne Mariner, a lawyer for Human Rights Watch in New York. "Every aspect of the system is overloaded and not functioning.

Venezuelan prisons mix inmates charged with armed robbery and murder with university graduates who have been convicted of white-collar crimes. Prisoners with 15-year sentences share cells with those awaiting trial.

About three out of four inmates have not been convicted of a crime. Some, like Adan Toledo, 40, a former bank employee charged with fraud, have waited more than a year for trial, unable to scrape together bail. Others, like America Carmen Bustillo, 42, apparently are here for no reason. Ms. Bustillo was accused of selling drugs but said the case against her was dropped. Five months later, she was still waiting for the bureaucratic machinery to release her

Violence, mostly among inmates, has skyrocketed. Last year, 336 prisoners were killed, up from 207 in 1996. By comparison, of the 1.7 million convicts in U.S. prisons, 67 were killed by other

inmates last year.

Two years ago, the government blew up Catia prison in the capital, Caracas, which had been a symbol of the violence ... and chaos in the criminal-justice system. Optimists saw that as a herald of an - era of reform. But there have been few signs of improvement since then, and outrage over mounting crime has thrown prison conditions off the list of

At the prison in Ciudad Bolivar, 595 kilometers (370 miles) southeast of Caracas, the authority of the state ends at - the door.

· The National Guard, responsible for security outside the prison, searches vis-itors. Prison authorities, with a handful of guards for the entire prison, restrict themselves to two offices at the entrance. They leave meals in vast tubs at the prison gate.

The other offices house refugiados. prisoners without allies inside, who huddle near the administrative offices for safety. They include white-collar suspects like Adan Toledo and a group of convicts sent here from the prison in El Dorado. The newcomers had been involved in a fight that killed 29 men, many with friends in Ciudad Bolivar.

"Practically speaking, they sent us to the guillotine to die," Jorge Luis Rey, 26, said. When the group arrived, one was killed almost immediately.

The consequences of being cut or shot are serious, given the virtual ab-Pence of medical care. With antibiotics scarce, wounds fester. Raul Millan, 30,

was shot in his left leg three years ago by an inmate with a homemade gun. With no treatment for the ensuing infection, his leg had to be amputated.

Seizing weapons does little good, En-lice Villamonte, the weekend prison di-rector, said. Within days the weapons reappear. "Where they're coming from, I don't know," she said. "I won't say my gnards are saints, but I don't believe

they're bringing in weapons."

Within the fiercely protected borders of their fieldoms, prisoners seem to strive for normal lives. In the El Reyo pavilion, the inmates have opened a bakery, fashioning an oven from an old metal cabinet with a hot plate on the ground. One prisoner gently lifted a towel and unned the cloth scraps that held the door shut. A cake was baking on a metal shelf.

Most women sent here quickly choose partners from among the inmates, but men at Ciudad Bolivar are allowed weekly conjugal visits. Until recently, babies were born and raised at Cindad Bolivar.

Budget cutbacks have ended rehabilitative programs and inmates have taken over the classroom building, making translucent walls out of bedsheets. In a neighboring yard, a shantytown

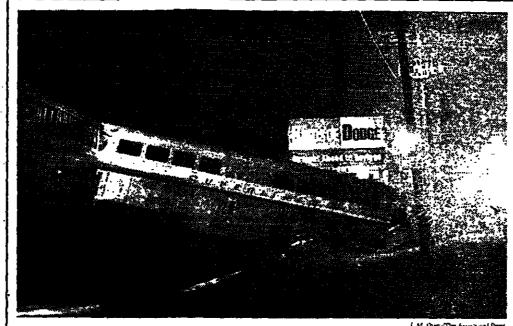
made from cinderblocks, wood and more bedsheets has gone up, with electrical wires running in every direction. The roof of one, built by Luis Beltran, a 37-year-old inmate nicknamed The Architect, is a collage of tar paper and cardboard, the holes plugged with an egg carton, a beach thong, a battered thermos laid on its side. Most of the shacks do not have mattresses and all leak in the rain.

But allies are more important than mattresses. Antonio Gomez, 24, said that on entering Ciudad Bolivar prison five years ago for murder he first sought friends, crucial for safety, and then decent living space. Now he lives with two allies in a section that used to be the women's annex, before prisoners ripped out the intervening bars.

Mr. Gomez carves a black stone into pendants, bracelets and watchbands. One pendant shows a woman astride a

leopard Many show Jesus.

"Here, you either find God or you lose all hope," said Sister Socorro Quintana, 53, a Roman Catholic nun from Spain who ministers to inmates here. "And there are many who are completely without hope.



OFF TRACK — An Amtrak train lying near a road in Arlington, Texas after it derailed this weekend, injuring 19. Earlier, the train struck and killed a deaf woman near Dallas.

# Texas Woman Has Octuplets

6 Girls and 2 Boys 'Hanging In There,' Doctor Says

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON - A Texas woman who had been taking fertility drugs has given birth to eight children in Houston, according to one of her physicians. The children are believed to be the first surviving set of octuplets in the United States.

Nkem Chukwn, who entered the hospital in October, had delivered the first baby naturally 12 days earlier. Sunday morning, doctors delivered the remaining five girls and two boys by cesarean section, the doctor said.

The seven infants, weighing 11 ounces to 1 pound, 11 ounces (312 grams to 765 grams), were isted in critical condition Monday along with the first child, a girl.

Mrs. Chukwu's first baby was said to weigh 11/2 pounds. Until she was delivered on Dec. 8, doctors were uncertain how many other babies she was carrying. A sonogram revealed there were seven.

Dr. Brian Kirshon, one of the three doctors who assisted in Sunday's delivery at St. Luke's Episcopal Hospital, said he was told that the infants, who were taken to the adjoining Texas Children's

Hospital, had an 85 percent chance of survival. They're doing as well as could be expected. Dr. Patti Savrick, a pediatrician there, told The Associated Press. "They're hanging in there."

But Dr. Leonard Weisman, the hospital's chief of neonatology service, told Reuters: "Several have

shown some improvement and several haven't." Physicians went to extraordinary lengths to delay the births of the seven Chukwu infants after the first child, named Baby A for the moment, was delivered 15 weeks prematurely. Those born Sunday, named B through H, were 13 weeks pre-

The 27-year-old mother, a native of Nigeria, was said to have been ordered to bed and placed on medications to prevent her from going into labor. She was lying "upside down." the doctor said, with her head below her feet to keep from applying pressure on her womb during the last weeks of the

"I think she is remarkable in that she was able to tolerate extreme conditions, to lie upside down in that degree of discomfort and that degree of immobility," Dr. Kirshon said.

The National Center for Health Statistics reports that the incidence of multiple births in the United States, mostly attributable to fertility drugs, has climbed sixfold in the past two and a half decades. troubling physicians and health care professionals.

The children face not only higher mortality rates

but also are at a greater risk of neurological defects, eye and lung disorders and developmental and behavioral abnormalities.

"I personally don't consider triplets to be a success," David Frankfurter, a fertility doctor at Women & Infants Hospital of Rhode Island, told The Washington Post earlier this year. In the United States, Bobbi McCaughey of Carl-

isle. Iowa had held the record for the largest number of children who have survived in a single delivery. She delivered septuplets by cesarean Nov. 19, 1997, and all seven survived.

Mrs. McCaughey, who also had taken fertility drugs, and her husband, Kenny, offered congratulations to the Chukwus and their babies. "We wish them the Lord's blessing and a merry Christmas," the couple said through their agent.

## POLITICAL NOTES

## David Duke to Run for Seat To Be Vacated by Livingston

WASHINGTON — David Duke, the Louisiana politician who has ties to the Ku Klux Klan, has announced plans to run for the seat Representative Bob Livingston will vacate, creating further political problems for the Republican Party in the aftermath of the impeachment vote against President Bill Clinton.

Mr. Duke, a Republican and neo-Nazi sympathizer, declared his plans to run for the seat north of New Orleans almost immediately after Mr. Livingston told House colleagues Sanurday that he would resign in six months. During the debate-over impeachment, and after disclosing marital infidelities, Mr. Livingston said he would not assume the House speakership this January, as expected.

Mr. Duke has been a major embarrassment to the Republican Party since winning a Louisiana statehouse seat in 1989. In 1990, he was the party's nominee in an unsuccessful bid to defeat then-incumbent Senator J. Bennett Johnston, a Democrat. One year later, Mr. Duke gave up his legislative seat to run against and beat the Republican governor, Buddy Roemer, in the gubernatorial primary. As the Republican nominee, Mr. Duke lost the general election to Edwin Edwards, a Democrat.

These contests forced the national and state Republican parties into a defensive posture. Republican officials repudiated Mr. Duke at every turn, and many Republican leaders openly endorsed Mr. Duke's Democratic op-ponents. Mr. Duke has scared moderate whites away from the Republican Party in the South, where the party depends on large majorities among white voters to win elections.

The party moved Sunday to disassociate itself from Mr. Duke. The Republican National Committee chairman, Jim Nicholson, declared: "There is no room in the party of Lincoln for a Klansman like David Duke."

## Gore Sets Talks on Government

WASHINGTON - Vice President Al Gore on Monday was to announce an international conference, to be held here next month, that will explore ways governments can streamline and improve their bureaucracies as a way of enhancing their economic competitiveness.

Mr. Gore will preside at the two-day event, called the Global Forum on Reinventing Government, which aides said grew out of the vice president's five-year effort to shake up the Washington bureaucracy and bilateral talks with leaders in a number of nations.

"Inefficient, slow-moving, overly centralized government can be one of the drags on the progress of the private sector, especially in the high-speed, high-tech economy of the 21st century," Mr. Gore said.

"To promote prosperity in the new economy," he added, "nations will have to reinvent their economic and

regulatory institutions to respond to citizens and markets in a more flexible and efficient manner." (WP)

## Quote/Unquote

Mark Isakowitz, a Republican lobbyist, on the difficulties Republicans will have with the Democratic minority in the House after impeaching President Bill Clinton: "I think at some point the Republicans will try to shrug this off and keep on moving, especially on Social Security and taxes. But when they reach their hand out, I don't know if anyone will want to take it."

# Airlines Within a Whisper Of Quieter-Skies Target

Last 'Noisy' Plane Must Be Grounded by 2000

By Matthew L. Wald New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - Airplane noise has gotten a lot softer, according to the Rederal Aviation Administration, and a 10-year program with that in mind is approaching a pianissimo finale.
But some airlines will face a last-

minute rush to fix or retire old planes

Under a law passed by Congress in 1990, airlines have had to reduce steadily the number of the noisiest planes they fly, called Stage 2 planes. Generally, by 1999, those planes must make up less than one-quarter of airline fleets, and by 2000 they must be eliminated. The first 25 percent cut was in 1994, and the next in 1996.

The noise in and around all these airports we live near is going to change a lot in the next 12½ months," said James Erickson, director of the aviation agency's office of environment and energy. While steps so far have helped, he said, "phasing out that last noisy airplane makes a tremendous difference." The replacement Stage 3 planes are

much quieter, Mr. Erickson said that a Stage 2 McDonnell Douglas DC-10, for example, made as much noise as nine new Boeing 777s.

The rules cover all planes over 75,000 pounds (34 metric tons), including small commuter planes but not some corporate jets. The rules affect about 7,500 planes registered in the United States.

Airlines are selling the old planes overseas, retiring them or installing 'hush kits.'' American Airlines plans to make its 727s comply with a system that limits engine thrust and flap settings.

Engineers lower noise by reducing the maximum speed at which the engines move air. To get more thrust, newer engines move more air than old ones. Some airlines already have met the requirements for 2000. United Parcel

Service, the first to eliminate Stage 2 planes, replaced the engines on its 727s.

The Federal Aviation Administration estimates that in 1975, some 7 million people were exposed to a noise level of 65 decibels from planes, considered un-desirable. By 1995, the number was down to 1.7 million, and by 2000, it will be 600,000 people, the agency said.



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# How Sweet It Is: Panel Finds Saccharin Is Safe

By Denise Grady New York Times Service

NEW YORK - A government advisory group has voted to give a clean bill of health to the artificial sweetener saccharin, which, despite its pink-pack-eted presence on restaurant tables throughout the United States, has been classified since 1981 as a suspected

Fall

cause of cancer. The group, the executive committee of the National Toxicology Program, voted 6 to 3 at a meeting last week to recommend that saccharin be removed from the government's list of suspected carcinogens, said a scientist who at-

tended the meeting. The toxicology program is part of the Department of Health and Human Services, and its role is to coordinate government programs that evaluate the safety of chemicals to which people are exposed, including substances like sac-charin that are added to foods.

The committee's vote is not the final word on saccharin, but it carries weight with policymakers. The vote will be considered by the toxicology agency director, Dr. Kenneth Olden, who is to

make a recommendation about sacchar-in in a Report on Carcinogens that will be presented next summer to Donna Shalala, secretary of health and human

services, and later to Congress.

The committee action followed votes by three other advisory groups that had been asked to evaluate saccharin studies in people and animals. Two of the other groups, comprising government scien-tists, had also recommended that saccharin be taken off the official list of suspected carcinogens.

But a panel of nongovernment experts on carcinogens that met in October 1997 voted 4 to 3 to keep saccharin on the list. The toxicology agency's executive committee was asked to take all the earlier results into account when

Saccharin was first singled out as a possible carcinogen in 1977 by a Canadian researcher. The Food and Drug Administration sought to ban it, but consumers, who would have been left without any artificial sweeteners, protested. Cyclamates, another sweetener, had been banned as carcinogenic. Ultimately, Congress refused to ban sac-

## Away From Politics

 Minneapolis police arrested 36 American Indian and environmental squatters who were protesting a high-way rerouting project. The protesters began their occupation of seven con-demned homes Aug. 10, saying the new road would cut through a Dakota burial ground still used for occasional ceremonies. Officials said there was no evidence of burial grounds.

 Scientists have lost radio contact with a spacecraft launched in early 1996 to gather information on a giant asteroid called Eros. But the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory in Lanrel, Maryland, is optimistic that it can re-establish contact. (AP)

 A seventh-grader suffered permanent eye damage when a friend shined a laser-light pointer into his eye at school. Now the Kansas City middle school is suspending any student who brings one the pointers to class.

• The Santa Fe scriptor Glenna Goodacre's image of a young Native American mother carrying an infant on her back has emerged as the favorite design for the new \$1 coin, officials in Washington said. The design depicts Sacagawea, the Indian guide who led Meriwether Lewis and William Clark across the Louisiana Purchase lands in

ALLAHABAD, India - In its celebrated, brainy heyday, Allahabad University was known as the Oxford of India. Among its graduates are three former prime ministers, one former president and the current minister of education — an illustrious alumni roster that now seems ironic for a college majoring in stagnation with a strong minor in chaos.

A campus built for 5,000 students now has 60,000. The academic calendar has lost its logic, with so many postponed sessions that years can go by without required courses being offered. The law school is currently selecting its first new class since 1994.

Buildings are decrepit. The library not only lacks up-to-date journals, but there is also no librarian. Laboratories are of little aid to science. "I did an experiment with hydrochloric acid. and when it didn't work, my teacher told me that's because the chemicals are down to make them last longer,'' said a chemistry student, Manish Kumar Verma.

Allahabad's decline, while an extreme case, is sadly symptomatic of an Indian university system overstuffed with students and undernourished with resources. Higher education was once the pride of a new nation that declared learning to be its route to greamess. But while the words were inspiring, they have gone unfortified by willpower and money.

In the past, the university system's problems were usually relegated to the dry reports of obscure committees, but now one horrific incident has drawn India's attention. Last month, a young man at Rajasthan University fatally immolated himself during a student protest. He was overwrought because the results of crucial exams were three months late, creating a state of limbo that kept students from continuing in school or applying for jobs.

Long delays in grading such exams have become commonplace, and they

have much to do with the long delays in paying the people who do the grading. "Where there are areas of crisis, the crisis is usually in the finances," said Armaity Desai, chairman of the University Grants Commission, which disburses federal funds for higher education.

India has about 10,000 universities and colleges - virtually all public - double the number of 20 years ago. Some remain first-rate, but a large portion of the rest — especially in the poorest of the nation's 27 states are the overwhelmed creations of haphazard growth.

'State colleges are often built by local bigwigs who use them as a source of political patronage," said Kuldeep Mathur, the former director of the National Institute of Educational Planning and Admin-

istration. "The buildings are built and staff are hired, but there is no thought as to how the infrastructure will be kept up and the salaries paid."

India has nearly a billion people largely-impoverished masses who increasingly view a college diploma as the admission ticket to the middle class. While only 3 percent of Indians ages 17 to 23 attend college, that still amounts to 7 million students. High school graduates have little to hold them back. Entrance requirements are not rigorous.

V. R. Mehta, vice chancellor of Delhi University, said, "With colleges open to anyone who wants to attend, merit becomes the casualty. Universities have become picnic places with students whiling away their time."

Despite government subsidies for tuition — and habitual promises to spend more - India allocates only 3.7 percent of its gross domestic product on education. That exceeds most other nations in South Asia, but lags far behind much of the developing world, a fact many scholars attribute to the anti-egalitarian

impulses of a caste-based society. Certainly, caste is mentioned often



Students at Allahabad University gathering for a student election. Allahabad was once known as the Oxford of India, but has since been beset with problems.

enough among senior members of the Allahabad faculty as they bemoan the decay of their beloved citadel, although theirs is a different perspective. India's version of affirmative action reserves about 50 percent of admissions for traditionally disadvantaged castes. Most of these students come from small villages with poor schools. Their fluency is in Hindi, though the texts they are required to read are in English.

With such students present in great

numbers, the bottom brings the top down, many professors contend. Professor S.P. Singh, dean of the commerce faculty, said, "A university should exist for the pursuit of academic excellence, but this is now an idea that plays second fiddle to casteism. Merit should rule the roost, not what caste you

Allahabad is in Uttar Pradesh, a state

where lower caste politicians have come to wield great power. They are often blamed for the university's unchecked

S. C. Bhattacharya, a recently retired professor of ancient history, said, "Despite my faith in democracy, I have to ask: By giving poor students a had education, do you improve their lot or merely make contagious their disadvantage?"

Clearly, an education is something hard to come by at Allahabad. Students very often skip class, which gives them something in common with their instructors. Ignobly, some professors then charge fees to "coach" their students privately, explaining what their lectures would have said had they actually come to campus to deliver them.

But is the blame for this chaos to be placed on the multitude of unprepared students - or on the lagging priority placed on education?

Miss Desai, of the grants commission, says all the complaining about merit is a luxury for the elite. "In a country like this, how can you make an issue out of merit?" she said. "When you say quality is going down, well, yes it is, but that is because we are massifying education. In a country where the great majority of students are firstgeneration learners, they need to be nurtured. And nurturing will cost money."

## Cambodians Flee **Waste Shipment**

STHANOUKVILLE, Cambodia - Hundreds of Cambodians fled this seaport town Monday, fearing exposure to toxic waste and violent protests against those responsible for allowing it into the country.

Buses, taxis and the morning train leaving Sihanoukville for Phnom Penh, 185 kilometers (115 miles) to the north, were packed. Police said at least four people were killed and 13 injured in accidents on the bumpy, narrow road north Among those fleeing Sihanoukville were customs officials, whom protesters blamed for letting the waste in.

The Taiwanese company that sent the waste has said it obtained permits from Taiwanese and Cambodian authorities. It has denied the material is toxic but admitted it contains traces of mercury, which can be poisonous.

## Nepalese Leader Shuffling Partners

KATMANDU, Nepal — Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala on Monday handed his resignation to the king, the royal palace an-

The resignation by the prime minister is a technical requirement that will allow Mr. Koirala's Nepali Congress and its new partner, the United Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Nepal, to form a new

coalition government. Mr. Koirala will continue as prime minister. King Birendra has set a Wednesday deadline for other parties to come forward to stake their claim for a government. Nepal, an absolute monarchy until a pro-democracy movement forced constitutional reforms in 1990, has had five prime ministers in the past four years.

## For the Record

A South Korean warship fired several warning shots Monday near a Japanese boat that was fishing for tuna in international waters between the two countries, the Japanese Coast Guard said in Tokyo. The incident occurred near the site where South Korean Navy ships sank a North Korean speedboat on

## **DISSIDENT:** 2 Sentenced for Trying to Form Opposition Party

Continued from Page 1

against Mr. Wang in the eastern city of Hangzhou - marked the climax of the most widespread crackdown on dissent in China since 1996.

They came at a time when many people in China are enjoying the free-dom to choose jobs, places to live and to travel. However, they were seen in Beijing as perhaps the first serious chill in an increasingly nasty political climate that could last as long as a year.

"This verdict will definitely have the desired effect," said Peng Ming, a former factory manager who earlier this year organized a series of discussion sessions focusing on topics such as democracy, freedom and human rights. Mr. Peng was evicted from his building by his landlord last week and said he would wait several months before resuming his discussion sessions.
"People are scared," he said.

Next year, China will commemorate three important anniversaries — the 10th anniversary of the crackdown around Tiananmen Square, the 50th anniversary of Communist China's founding and the 80th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, which established the tradition of Chinese student activism. Chinese set

great stock in anniversary celebrations and the Communist Party is known to be afraid that activists will use the an-

niversaries as an excuse to start protests. In addition, China's former Communist Party leader, Zhao Ziyang, who was ousted from his post after the Tiananmen Square movement for expressing sympathy with the students, is 80 years old and known to be in relatively frail health. His passing could also prompt protests — just as the death of China's former Communist Party secretary, Hu Yaobang, in April 1989 triggered student protests that led to the Tiananmen Square crackdown.

Things will get very difficult," said Ren Wanding, another leading dissident who was not jailed but predicted the stiff sentences. "Our activities, I think, will have to wait until the end of next June, at the earliest."

A former sailor in China's navy, Mr. Xu is a 55-year-old veteran of the Democracy Wall protests of 1978. Mr. Qin, 45, is the founder of China's first domestic newsletter on human rights. Mr. Wang, 32, is a former student leader of the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989.

During his three-hour trial, Mr. Xu declined to answer questions from the prosecutor or judge. When he rose to speak in his defense at the end of the trial he was shouted down by the judge, his wife said. The judge took less than 20 minutes to sentence him to jail. "It was a sham," said Mrs. He, his wife.

Mr. Wang and Mr. Qin were tried Thursday — in Hangzhou and Wuhan, respectively. Unlike Mr. Xu, they had no legal representation because Chinese security personnel had threatened their lawyers with jail - a violation of Chinese law.

Starting in June, the three activists teamed up with dozens of others to push the idea of founding an opposition party the China Democracy Party. Activists attempted to register the party in 14 provinces and cities - a strong signal of the support in China for the idea of an opposition group.

Mr. Wang was the first to attempt to register the party, doing so in Hangzhou on the day that President Bill Clinton arrived in China in June for a summit meeting with Mr. Jiang. Mr. Wang had spent two and a half years in jail for his part as a student leader around Tiananmen Square but since his release in the early 1990s he has "dreamed about bringing change to China," said his wife, Mrs. Hu.

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# A FRIENDLY APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE

It is vital you know the facts for your sake as well as for ours!

Do not allow shelter in Europe to the terrorists and their leader.

The PKK terrorist organization has taken so many lives in our country.

Thousands of human lives, young and old, men and women, children, babies.

If it were not for terrorism, they would be with us today... Thousands of human beings... They would be together with their loved ones, with their wives and husbands, with their brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers...

They are no longer with us, because terrorism took so many lives in our country... Throughout fourteen long years...

They were all our children, our brothers and sisters, our wives and husbands, mothers and fathers... Thousands of them...

We have experienced wave after wave of pitiless terror...

Terrorists have raided our homes in the dark of the night...

They have set fire to our schools...

We lived through all this... Throughout fourteen long years...

For all these murders,

for all these executions,

one man and his gang of criminals, the PKK, are responsible.

It is so important you understand the facts.

We hope that you, the people of Europe, will fairly reflect on this friendly appeal. We hope that you, who have also suffered from acts of violence, will act on this urgent call and influence decisions in Europe and, in particular, in Italy.

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Russia-China-India Link Would Boost Regional Security, He Says

NEW DELHI - Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov of Russia said Mon-

Caninalian |

day that he favored a "strategic tri-angle" involving China, Russia and In-dia to ensure regional stability.

Mr. Primakov spoke at the start of an

official two-day visit that saw Russia and India sign an accord extending bilateral military cooperation to 2010. "A lot depends in the region on the policies of China, Russia and India," Mr. Primakov said. "If we succeed in

establishing a strategic triangle, it will be very good."
The visit — the first by a Russian leader to India since New Delhi's nuclear tests in May -- was overshadowed

by the bombing of Iraq by the United States and Britain last week. Mr. Primakov was asked how Russia would react to new an strikes. "We will never change our position," he said. "We are very negative about the use of force bypassing the Security Council."

While stressing that he had made no for India is its 50-year history of tension with Pakistan. New Delhi is unhappy sia-India China partnership would with U.S. arms aid to Islamabad, but it provide "greater stability, not just in the region but in the entire world."

Russia has signed a "strategic part-nership" with China, while it has strong traditional ties with India founded on

decades of military cooperation.

Last week, Russia, India and China strongly criticized the bombing of Iraq, reviving some Cold War rhetoric. India said it favored diplomacy over the use of force to resolve the dispute over weapons inspection in Iraq.
All three nations have reasons to be-

lieve they need to influence the region and check U.S. power, analysts said. Their concerns include access to rich oil reserves in Central Asia, peace in the Middle East and the rise of the radical Taleban movement in Afghanistan.

But for all the convergence of interests, analysts said, the Asian triangle has been a difficult dream. A key factor

has also been angered by Chinese nuclear technology sales to the Pakistanis.

The air strikes on Iraq were a blow for Russia, which wields veto power as a member of the UN Security Council. After talks with Mr. Primakov on Monday evening, the Indian prime min-ister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, declined to comment directly on the concept of a three-way partnership, saying only that India's ties with Russia were "time-

tested," and that New Delhi was "trying to improve relations" with China. ■ A Call to Ex-Soviet Armies

The Russian defense minister, Marshal Igor Sergeyev, called Monday for the armed forces of former Soviet states to cooperate more closely, saying that the United States, with the bombing of Iraq, had become "unpredictable,"
Reuters reported from Moscow.



Prime Ministers Yevgeni Primakov of Russia, left, and Atal Behari Vajpayee of India greeting officials Monday before talks in New Delhi.

"At this moment, when the United States and their allies are unpredictable. it's essential we reach a common understanding of the military-political problems arising and work out common

views on prospects for developing military cooperation," he said at a Moscow meeting of defense ministers from the Commonwealth of Independent States. (Reuters, AFP)

**Berlin Protects** 

BERLIN --- The authorities in Berlin

ordered tighter security at the city's

Jewish sites Monday after a bomb blast destroyed the grave of a former German

City officials said there were no im-

mediate suspects in the Saturday night

attack, which blew up the marble me-

morial slab on Heinz Galinski's grave in

Berlin's interior minister, Eckart Wer-

thebach, said the home-made bomb was

packed into the steel cap of a gas canister

tral Council of Jews from 1988 until his

death in 1992. He had headed Berlin's

Mr. Galinski headed Germany's Cen-

for maximum explosive impact.

Jewish community since 1949.

a Jewish cemetery in western Berlin.

**Jewish Sites** 

Jewish leader.

## BRIEFLY

## Havel Feeling Fit, But Czechs Worry

PRAGUE - President Vaclav Havel said Monday that he had recovered from the respiratory infection, while a survey showed many Czechs think he should consider quitting.
"I think the viral infection I had

in recent days is leaving, getting away from me," Mr. Havel, 62, said at a news conference in his first appearance since the illness forced him to cancel a meeting with visiting Prime Minister Jose Maria

Aznar on Dec. 14.
A poll released Monday showed. that concerns over his health led 55percent of Czechs to say he should consider resigning.

## Serbian Policeman Is Killed in Kosovo

PRISTINA, Yugoslavía — A Serbian policeman was reported killed and a woman wounded Mon-

day in a northern Kosovo town. The Serbian-run Media Center reported that 52-year-old Milic: Jovic was shot by unidentified assailants using automatic weapons in Podujevo early Monday. He died en route to the hospital. A woman who was accompanying Mr. Jovic was wounded in the leg, the center

Podujevo is an overwhelmingly ethnic Albanian town 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Pristina, close to central Serbia. Tensions there have grown in past weeks.

The Kosovo Information Center, close to the ethnic Albanian leadership, said the town was blocked as Serbian police brought in reinforcements. Sporadic shooting could be heard from an area northeast of the town, it said. (Remers)

# EU Agrees to Cut Vehicle Pollution

BRUSSELS - European Union environment ministers agreed on Monday to halve pollution from

diesel- and gas-powered buses and trucks by 2005.

The law, which needs the ap-proval of the European Parliament before it can take effect, sets increasingly strict restrictions on emissions of carbon monoxide and other gases. (Reuters)

## 10 Years After, Remembrance At Lockerbie

Compiled by Our Staff From Disparches

LOCKERBIE, Scotland - Relatives and friends of passengers on Pan Am Fight 100 gameron man blown out of cars after the arriner was blown out of the cars and crashed onto the skies by a bomb and crashed onto this small Scottish town.

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Fifty foreign visitors joined local people in a wreath-laying and church service for the 270 people who lost their lives in one of the world's worst air disasters. Similar services were being held in London and the United States. "My family's expanded at the ex-pense of the death of my brother," said

Bert Ammerman, an American who lost his brother, Tom. "These people, the people of Pan Am 103, have become my family. On the 10th anniversary this is where I wanted to be. It brings back the devastation, horror and destruction, but something positive has also come out of

Prince Philip, husband of Queen Elizabeth, laid a wreath at the Garden of Remembrance in Dryfesdale Cemetery, just outside Lockerbie, where a simple, polished stone memorial catalogues the dead. Before Prince Philip's symbolic gesture to honor the 270 dead on a bitterly cold, rainy day, Lockerbie's Ro-responsible for your deaths are held



A couple paying their respects at the memorial stone listing the Lockerbie dead in the Garden of Remembrance.

man Catholic parish priest at the time of the crash spoke to about 200 victims' relatives and townspeople about the "ticking bomb" of justice.

"Ten years ago, for you and for us, a bomb was ticking," the Reverend Pat Keegans told the crowd. "Be assured of this — there is another bomb ticking — the irresistible bomb of justice and

"Be certain that our wreath-laying today is not a symbolic gesture. It is a declaration that we will not rest until we have justice and truth, until all who are

accountable." Two Libyan suspects aboard Flight 103, which had just have been indicted in connection with the bombing, but have not yet been turned over for trial.

A low-key memorial service was planned Monday at Lockerbie's Dryfesdale Church beginning at 1903 GMT, the moment when the plane hit the ground. Events were also planned at Westminster Abbey in London, Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia and Syracuse University in New York state, which lost 35 college students in the crash.

Lockerbie lost 11 of its own people, along with the 259 passengers and crew

reached its cruising altitude on Dec. 21, 1988, 42 minutes after taking off from London's Heathrow Airport for New

Last week. Libya's Parliament gave its conditional approval for a trial in the Netherlands by a Scottish court of two Libyan suspects, but after four nights of bomb attacks on Iraq by U.S. and British forces fresh doubt has been thrown on the negotiations. A Tripoli-based diplomat said that the lraq crisis may prompt Libya to delay its decision on a trial. (Reuters, AP) (Reuters, AP)

## Ignatz Bubis, who succeeded Mr. Galinski as head of the council, visited the gravesite Monday and blamed the

attack on rightist extremists. Federal agents were helping investigate the bombing as a potential political crime. An attack on Mr. Galinski's grave three months ago caused minor damage. Police patrols at the cemetery in Charlottenburg district and other Jewish sites

in Berlin were being stepped up, said a police spokesman, Martin Strunden. Many Germans reacted with horror to the attack. Volker Beck, a lawmaker for the Greens party, said it showed that anti-Semitism still festered in the country.

## INTERNATIONAL

# **Ugandans in Congo: More Than Aid?**

By Ian Fisher New York Times Service

KISANGANI, Democratic Republic of the Congo — There is a certain touchiness among Ugandan soldiers posted here about what they are doing in the middle of someone else's rebellion. 'We are just with our friends - no problems," one soldier at the airport

"People should not tell you lies that Uganda is fighting the war," said Bal-am, 25, a second lieutenant who uses only one name, as he sped away down a jungle road in a pickup truck. "We are

just peacekeepers."

But four months into the war in Congo, formerly Zaire — which has drawn soldiers from at least seven nations and has defied solution at every round of peace talks - things do not seem quite that tidy.

While Ugandan officials say they are not engaged in fighting, the nation's huge military presence here, the center of its operations in Congo, has become routine, with near-daily flights carrying men, food and material.

Ugeode says that its only real interest is the security of its border from attack by rebel militias based in Congo. Yet rumors abound here of deals in

gold, and dealers in diamonds talk about a mysterious Belgian who they believe is buying lots of them on Ugandans'

"What are they doing 1,000 kilo-meters (625 miles) from the border if this is a question of security?" a priest here asked of both Uganda and Rwanda, the two nations that are supporting the

LAGOS — Feel prices more than

doubled on Monday in Nigeria, Africa's

biggest oil-producing nation, after four years of being fixed by the government.

Increases in official prices have in the past triggered riots in the West African

country of more than 108 million

people, but businesses and international

lenders had long called for the abolition

There was no public announcement

of a rise in the price, but filling stations sold gasoline for 25 naira (29 cents) a

liter instead of the 11 naira pump price.

like," a spokesman for Mobil Corp.'s Nigerian oil marketing company said

The government has given us a free

The government said last week it

The deregulation of the oil market is

one of the clearest signals that the mil-

would no longer fix fuel prices, but he

gave no indication when the change

We can sell for whatever price we

of fuel subsidies.

Nigeria Doubles Price for Fuel

rebellion. "This is not a problem of security. This is another problem." is a war it did not want but has been unable to avoid.

"We are not there voluntarily." said

week with a skepticism that Uganda's president. Yoweri Museveni — an ally of many Western nations, especially the United States - is unused to hearing from foreign friends. At a meeting in Uganda of rich nations that give money to poor ones, the European Union issued a statement recognizing Uganda's "legitimate security concerns" in Congo.
"At the same time," the statement said, "it is doubtful that the current level

of military presence and activity up to 700 kilometers away from the Ugandan

border serve that purpose."
What, exactly, Uganda is doing in Congo seems to be a bit of a mystery even to Uganda itself, if one takes the nation's leaders at their word. But the general contours are clear. Since Angust, Uganda has lodged its presence deep in its neighbor's territory, along-side a group of rebels and Rwandan soldiers seeking to overthrow the Con-golese president, Laurent Kabila.

Only last year, Uganda and Rwanda helped Mr. Kabila to take power in a similar war. No one wept then for Mar-shal Mobutu Sese Seko, for 32 years the dictator of what was then Zaire.

This time, though, there is no pre-tense that Uganda and Rwanda are not key players — to the point that at least four other African nations have intervened against them. All four accuse Uganda and Rwanda of invading an-

other sovereign nation. As diplomats around the world worry that a full-scale regional war is boiling over in Africa, Uganda protests that this

itary ruler, General Abdulsalami

Abubakar, is as committed to liberal

economic reforms as to a widely accepted democracy plan under which he intends to step down in May.

Fuel shortages have been worse than ever this year and are seen by many

Nigerians as the most obvious symptom

of military misrule in the oil-rich nation.

has forced the government to import gasoline, which it can ill afford given the slump in world oil prices. Imports have still failed to meet demand.

At least 20 people have died in a renewed clash over oil rights in south-

west Nigeria, Agence France-Presse re-

ported Monday from Lagos, quoting

Nigerian press reports.
Fresh hostilities broke out during the weekend in Aiyetoro, some 180 kilo-

meters (110 miles) from Lagos when 10

boats belonging to ethnic liaws were sunk by their rival neighbors, the Ilajes.

■ Clashes Over Oil Rights

The failure of four state-run refineries

"We are not there voluntarily." said Amama Mbabazi, the Ugandan Min-ister of State for Foreign Affairs in charge of regional cooperation. "We are forced by circumstances to be

He said that relations between Uganda and Congo had been souring because Mr. Kabila did not control rebels who initiate attacks into Uganda from the other side of the Congo bor-

Since last spring, 1,500 Ugandan troops have been stationed inside Congo, flushing out these fighters with

the help of Congolese soldiers. In August, Mr. Mbabazi said, those same Congolese soldiers started the rebellion against Mr. Kabila.

"When they mutinied, what could we do?" Mr. Mbabazi asked. "Either we had to continue with them or maybe fight them.'

Critics of General Museveni, and many admirers, say this is not the whole story. But many outside officials and experts says Rwanda was the prime mover behind the rebellion because of its own deeper border worries, in which the forces that carried out the 1994 mass killings there have been launching their

own attacks from Congo into Rwanda. Uganda, under this theory, went along with the rebellion because it thought Mr. Kabila would fall easily. He did not, largely because Zimb-abwe, Angola, Namibia and Chad rushed to his defense.

Two questions muddy Uganda's protests that its involvement in Congo is limited and reluctant. The first is the extent to which its well-trained and disciplined army is actually fighting the war. The second is how much Uganda's commercial interests, which have grown since Mr. Kabila came to power, play a role.

Neither question can be answered with certainty. On the issue of fighting, outside experts are divided as to whether Ugandans are the main force pushing in the northwest along the Congo River toward the capital, Kinshasa, or whether their role is merely advisory.

There have been no reports of Ugandan soldiers dying in Congo. But there are thousands of Ugandan soldiers in Congo, perhaps 6,000 or more, and there is much speculation that Uganda helped create a second rebel force northwest of here led by Jean-Pierre Bemba, the son of one of Congo's richest men. Uganda says its troops operate only in the same areas as Mr. Bemba, but they do not seem to have made any efforts to

The question of commercial interests is complicated because of Congo's great wealth in natural resources and the assumption that every outside force is fighting for some piece.

## Congratulations to the winners of the

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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

# INTERNATIONAL

# White House Tests Waters for Deal and Floats a Compassionate Clinton

ficials said Monday that they were "very 'encouraged" by some of their first soundings on finding a bipartisan solution to the impeachment crisis, but they were warned by senators from both parties to steer clear of parliamentary maneuvering that would after the impeachment Saturday. drag out the process and further alienate the American public.

As his lieutenants prepared for the no credit to the House," said the White next stage of the battle — this time House press secretary. Joe Lockhart, against a conviction by the Senate on who called the impeachment vote "ilagainst a conviction by the Senate on articles of impeachment for perjury and obstruction of justice — President Bill sionate and remorseful stance. He is dealt with in a serious, constitutional and devoting this holiday week to volunteering at a Washington soup kitchen, reading to children and remembering victims of Pan Am Flight 103.

kind words for members of Congress. "I hope they have a merry Christ-nications director, said that President

By Eric Schmitt
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Representative

Dennis Hastert, Republican of Illinois,

has gone suddenly from being an anon-

ymous middle-level legislator to the pre-

sumptive speaker of the House, less because of who he is than because of who

Mr. Hastert, a six-term conservative

House Republican hierarchy, is not a

pyrotechnical firebrand like Newt Gin-

grich or a driven conservative like Rep-

resentative Tom DeLay, Republican of

He has a reputation among Repub-

lican colleagues as a conciliator, some-one who can reach out to Democrats.

as the architect of President Bill Clin-

ton's impeachment. And it is Mr. DeLay,

more than anyone else, who is pushing Mr. Hastert's name forward as speaker.

As chief deputy majority whip, Mr. Hastert is responsible for taking the tem-

perature of lawmakers on key votes and

for dealing with legislative favors. He is viewed as a low-key insider, a lumbering

former high-school wrestling coach who

differences without threats or rancor,

and always away from the spotlight.

Texas, the majority whip.

who is the No. 2 vote counter in the position just behind the vice president in

about other people and do something in the spirit of the season, something like

But some aides were in attack mode, reflecting the aggressive policy devised

"I think that the president believes that what went on in the House brought legitimate and unfair.'

"Now that this has moved to the

removed from office, also called on the Ladling sance over a pan of lasagna at Central Kitchen, Mr. Clinton had only promise to end this matter promptly. Senate to "forge a fair, bipartisan com-

Ann Lewis, White House commu-

Probable Speaker, Hastert of Illinois, Could Help Heal Partisan Rift

order of succession to the presidency,

will be difficult enough following a bit-

ter, partisan divide that roiled the House

for months over impeachment.

Conciliator for a House Divided

WASHINGTON — White House of country will take some time to think of senators but that active lobbying that it is not consistent with the confirm. Mr. Lockhart indicated Monday would not be appropriate.

"We are very encouraged by some of the initial comments that have been made by senators as they, too, say, 'We think we can find a bipartisan solu-' she said in a broadcast on CBS.

"That's what the country deserves."

The Washington Post reported Monday that the White House was weighing a legal assault on the legitimacy of President Clinton's impeachment by a lameduck Congress, arguing that the new House of Representatives that convenes Clinton on Monday adopted a compas- Senate, there is a hope that this will be in January must revisit the matter and approve new articles before a trial.

The White House chief of staff, John Vice President Al Gore, who would become president if Mr. Clinton were consider whether to challenge the constitutionality of a situation in which the charges were brought in the outgoing 105th Congress but the president tried in the 106th, which convenes Jan. 6. "Some of the constitutional experts

look at that."

But one Senate Democrat warned against such a challenge. 'I think anything that is seen as par-

liamentary maneuvering to get out of this is not going to be accepted by the mounted during the House impeachment American public," Senator John Breaux proceedings, still held out hope of avert-

get Mr. Clinton out of his trouble, saying

stitution to have done this in a larne-duck that the White House would not try to Congress, especially in the partisan way drag out the process, saying, "I don't see that they did that," Mr. Podesta said on any advantage, nor does anyone that CNN. 'So I think we'll have to take a works here see any advantage, in not Senate. finding some way to quickly dispatch

White House officials, while prepar ing a more aggressive defense of Mr. Clinton on the facts of the case than they view with CNN.

"It's going to have to be out front. It is going to have to be fair," he said. "I think if we try and solve this on parliamentary manuevering, it is going to have a serious mischell.

liamentary manuevering, it is going to be of Kentucky, noted Monday that the Sena serious mistake." Senator Orrin Hatch, the Republican a simple majority vote of 51 senators. He chairman of the Judiciary Committee, on Sunday warned the White House against also supposed to be favored by the senior lannching a long legal procedure to try to Democrat in the chamber, Robert Byrd of

"I think we need to follow the Const stitution. I've said I'm going to take me cues from Senator Byrd; I think he's the expert," Senator McConnell told NBC. Senator Byrd has written a history of the

Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter proposed Monday eading the impeachment proceedings with a bipartisan censure resolution stating that he lied under oath (Opinion, Page 8.) The linchpin would be leading that the Linchpin would be leading to the Mr. Climan be language stating that Mr. Climon accepted the findings in the resolution. But the admission that he did not tell the truth could not be used against him in a fature trial.

Somehow we must reach a conclusion that most Americans can embrace and that posterity will approve," the two former presidents wrote in an opinion column published in The New York Times. "Make no mistake, the judgment of history does matter. It man ters profoundly. And impeachment by the full House has already brought pro-found disgrace to President Clinton." Vice President Gore on Monday called

WHAT 9

vice President Gore on Monday called on his former Senate colleagues to "forge a fair, bipartisan compromise." Speaking at a White House awards ceremony while the president toured the soup kitchen, Mr. Gore said: "I do hope that the United States Senate will rise to this moment, as it so often does, to be the voice of reason, deliberation and healing that America needs, to play the role that it was intended by our founders to play in situations exactly like this one."

At the soup kitchen, Hillary Rodham Clinton stood beside her husband, helping prepare lunch for the hungry. Later, they attended a service at Arlington Nathey attended a service at Ariington National Cemetery to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the bombing of Pan American World Airways Flight 10 over Lockerbie, Scotland.

Later this week, Mr. Clinton will read holiday stories to children in the East Room of the White House before settling in for a quiet Christmas at home

in for a quiet Christmas at home.

Barry Toiv, a White House spokesman, said Sunday that the president's activities were in keeping with his commitment to community service. "And of, course, it's for the holiday season," he

But between the events lies a strategy; to pull the Clinton presidency out of the ashes by the time the Senate opens an impeachment trial. In the next two weeks, White House aides plan to seize on the lull in Congress and provide Mr., Clinton with forums to talk about his per legislative topics: health care, education and Social Security.

'The American people don't want this president to stop working for them,"

Representative Dennis Hastert, left, who is expected to be the next House speaker, talking with Representative John Boehner, a fellow Republican.

ted carefully to distance their boss from Mr. DeLay and his hardball politics.

Democrats, if the right wing in his own party will allow it, "said Representative be because of his relative anonymity. Henry Waxman, Democrat of Califor- Even among many Washington political sophisticates, the anointment of Mr. Hastert drew blank stares.

But for House Republicans eager to fill the breach left by Mr. Livingston before fleeing the scandal-pocked Capitol for the holidays, Mr. Hastert was a before fleeing the scandal-pocked Capitol for the holidays, Mr. Hastert was a Wr. Clinton advocating popular social well-known, comfortable face. In the programs will boost public support. House leadership races last month, a campaign to draft Mr. Hastert to challenge Representative Dick Armey, Republican of Texas, the majority leader, fell short. But the seeds were sown.

Mr. Torv said, "and believe me, he has no intention of doing that."

(AP, Reuters, WP, NYT)

## POLLS: Clinton Gains as Republicans Slip

## Continued from Page 1

today than it was after the shutdown of the government in the winter of 1995.

Two out of three Americans now oppose Mr. Clinton's removal from office, as they did in the weeks before the hearings. Nine out of 10 respondents said they had heard nothing during the two days of televised hearings, in which Republicans painstakingly offered their case against Mr. Clinton, that had shifted

their view of the case.

The Times/CBS News poll suggests that almost a year after the initial reports of Mr. Clinton's relationship with Monica Lewinsky, the public continues to be almost completely at odds with much of Washington's political establishment over the import and significance of the affair, and attempts by an independent counsel and Republicans in Congress to

prove he tried to cover it up.

The telephone poll included 1,215 adults nationwide and had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points. All respondents were way of measuring changes in public per-

ception by the impeachment hearings. The poll was completed as the case against Mr. Clinton moved from the House, which voted two impeachment counts against him in a partisan vote

Saturday, to the Senate for a trial. Although the Times/CBS poll suggests something approaching a con-sensus on how the Clinton case should

ciding how to proceed with this case. view of the party is even more negative congressional Republicans as being in touch with the views of the nation, while nearly two-thirds said they believed the Republicans were pursuing the case for purely partisan motives: to damage Mr. Clinton and the Democratic Party.

White House officials said their polling has found a similar erosion in the public's view of Republicans. "The leadership in the House has potentially done more long-term damage to the Republican Party than anything Richard Nixon did during Watergate," a senior White House official said. A CBS News poll on Friday found

additional evidence of another kind of deterioration in the public's view of Congress: Only 41 percent of respondents now believe Congress shares the public's moral values, down from 58 percent in

This is one of the few areas in which Mr. Clinton fares poorly. The same CBS poll found that nearly two-thirds of Americans did not believe Mr. Clinton shared their moral values. The Times/CBS poll previously interviewed last week, as a suggests shifts in public perceptions of the case from Saturday to Sunday. For example, 60 percent of respondents on Saturday said impeachment was punishment enough for what Mr. Clinton had done;

that changed to 53 percent Sunday.

Over two days, 57 percent of the respondents said they believe that Ma Clinton has been punished enough. There was also a drop over the two days in the number of Americans who expect be resolved, there has been little evidence to date that congressional Reton; down from 35 percent on Saturday publicans were considering polls in de- to 26 percent on Sunday.

# POLITICS: Clinton's Strategy in Senate

## Continued from Page 1

views reflect the fundamental partisanship of the House, gone to extreme.

Ross Baker, a professor at Rutgers University, called Saturday's votes "an authentic expression of the polarization of the congressional districts." He added, "Both parties have been driven down to their base, their most passionate, most committed, most zealous voters."

One underlying difference was that Republicans were more upset by the moral and character issues that underlay the accusation of perjury than were Democrats.

And Democrats, who succeeded Republicans as the suspicious, oppressed minority after the 1994 midterm elections, were more upset than were Republicans by the methods of the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, and the House Judiciary Committee, which accepted his evidence and interpretation

unquestioningly.

Those same general inclinations will show in the Senate, though probably not as dramatically. The Senate is indeed more partisan than it used to be. As minority leader in 1993, Bob Dole vowed to block Mr. Clinton from passing almost anything that his party had voted impeachment

could filibuster. Senator Tom Daschle of South Dakota, a Democrat who is the minority leader today, has profited from Mr. Dole's example. And when House Republicans who

learned congressional obstructionism at

the feet of Newt Gingrich have gotten elected to the Senate, they have changed Still, the Senate seems to change them more. Even Rick Santonum of Pennsylvania, perhaps the most strident

Exclusive

representative to come to the Senate in recent years, seems to be mellowing as his Senate tenure grows. George Washington, who attended the Constitutional Convention, is said to

have explained the purpose of the Senste, indirectly elected to six-year terms, to Thomas Jefferson, who did not attend, in this fashion:

Saying the point was to have one more deliberative body than a House elected by the people every two years, Washington said, "We pour legislation infinite the Senate saucer to cool it."

That difference worked for Andrew Johnson in 1868, when the Senate waded through a long trial and heard evidence and acquitted him after the House, in a fit of partisan passion over Reconstruction

## It will be even more difficult in the 106th Congress, with Republicans holding a tiny majority and Democrats in no mood to accommodate. And it could be But to heal the wounds in Congress, harder still for Mr. Hastert, who is un-he will have to persuade moderates in his tested in the national political bartles that tion to launch a blitzkrieg campaign that vaulted him from obscurity to lock up own party and Democrats that he is not have incinerated his two predecessors,

To House Republicans, reeling from edged a series of extramarital affairs and

the resignation of both a speaker and a on Saturday abruptly withdrew his bid

simply an agent of Mr. DeLay. For it is and who is already being painted by Mr. DeLay, the Republicans' chief vote counter, who has been seen in the House DeLay.

"I don't envy anyone chosen to be speaker right now," said Representative Tom Barrett, Democrat of Wisconsin. who has worked closely with Mr. Hastert on issues from drug policy to national defense. "With the slim majority and the atmosphere Republicans have created with Democrats, it'd be a Herculean task for anyone."

House Republicans do not vote until brokers compromises and smooths out Jan. 5 to pick a successor to Speakerelect Bob Livingston, Republican of Louisiana, who on Thursday acknowl-

speaker-to-be in the span of two months, for the speaker's post and said he would Mr. Hastert is a consensus candidate leave Congress in six months. The full who can bridge the feuding conservative and moderate wings of the party.

House will vote Jan. 6.

But Mr. Hastert was already trying out

who in the House is in the best position to heal the partisan rift?" said Representative Gerald Weller, Republican Illinois. "It's Coach Hasters" But the challenge of being speaker, a support. He needs 112 votes to win.

As the phone calls flooded in, Mr. Hastert was also mapping out the out-lines of an agenda. "Between the con-gratulations and the thank yous, he's talking and listening to a lot of members right now," said Pete Jeffries, Mr.

Hastert's spokesman Within hours after Mr. Livingston de-livered his stunning news, Mr. Hastert used the Republican whip's organizathe race. The main rival, Representative Christopher Cox, Republican of Cali-fornia, was torpedoed before he knew

But the whip's machinery went into gear in support of Mr. Hastert only after Mr. DeLay declined to run for speaker

The two are extremely close, sharing the same offices and the same staffs. Democrats say that if Mr. Hastert is to have any chance of rising above the partisan cauldron embroiling official Washington, he will have to stand up to Mr. DeLay and to the party's powerful right.
"He has the potential to reach out to

nia, who has worked closely with Mr. Hastert on two committees.

But other Democrats who say they like Mr. Hastert personally warn that party ideology trumps individual personalities in today's poisonous political wars. On Sunday, Mr. Hastert's aides star-

Unlike Mr. DeLay, Mr. Hastert has achieved the rare prize of climbing to the top of the leadership ladder while mak-

# 3 Balloonists Face 'Emergency' as They Approach China

BEIJING — The British entrepreneur Richard Branson said Monday that his bot-air balloon adventure was facing an emergency after being refused permission to fly over China on the only viable route

Mr. Branson and his teammates, Steve Fosset of the United States and Per Lindstrand of Sweden, were heading toward China in their round-the-word nonstop record attempt, but it was not clear whether they would be forced to land.

"We are effectively in an emergency situation," Mr. Branson said, speaking via satellite. "But we are friends with the Chinese people and this is a sporting event, an adventure. We have no choice but to go over China, and we would be enormously grateful if they let

With the ICO Global Challenge traveling at a steady 80 kilometers (50 miles) an hour, the British government and former Prime Minister Edward Heath were seeking to persuade Chinese authorities to grant permission to cross Chinese territory farther north than planned. ICO Global is a mobile phone

company supporting the trip.

China had permitted a crossing farther south, but the balloon was on a more northerly course after

being forced to maneuver around both Iraq and a storm, Mike Kendrick, a project director, said. Because of the rugged Himalayan terrain, the bal-loon had no place to land before reaching China, Mr. Kendrick said. The team said the balloon would land if ordered to do so by the Chinese authorities, adding that

rise on Tuesday. This would end the record attempt. Mr. Fossett said he hoped the team would not have to land in such a remote part of the world because of the logistics involved in getting the team and the balloon out of the country. But he said preparations were under way for a search-and-rescue operation

should it be necessary.

A British Embassy official indicated that China had reluctantly accepted that the balloon would cross the border. "The Chinese have said that if the balloon does fly into Chinese airspace it must obey all Chinese instructions they give it," she said, adding that the team had agreed to the demand. It was not clear whether the instructions could include an order to land.

On its present track, the balloon could cross into the most likely landing site would be 6,000 meters (20,000 feet) up on the Tibetan plateau around sunis "impredictable," the official said. (Reuters, AP)

# FORECAST: IMF Report Indicates Hangover From Asia Crisis

## Continued from Page 1

The Fund also criticized commercial and central banks for being unprepared for the near-failure of Long-Term Capital Management LP, an American hedge fund that borrowed billions of dollars to take positions in world bond markets that went at least temporarily

sour over the summer. "The argument often heard in the aftermath of the Asian crisis is that no one of a stronger yen."

could see through the opaque financial

The rising yen raises the cost of Japcould see through the opaque financial structures of the markets," the IMF re-port said. "Yet the markets and insti-also reduces import prices for Japanese tutions that experienced the turbulence consumers, that is not helping domestic this summer and fall are the most transparent in the world." It also noted that "LTCM was known, and even adver-

tised, to have a large appetite for risk." The Fund's forecast for another year of recession in Japan is partly at odds with

coming fiscal year. Although some of the discrepancy can be explained by the differing periods — the Japanese fiscal year runs through March, while the IMF forecasts are for the calendar year — the government's estimate "is probably slightly optimistic," according to Allison Montgomery, an analyst at Independent

Economic Analysis (Holdings) Ltd.
The IMF report, Ms. Montgomery said, "highlighted the negative impact

anese exports, she said, and although it demand in the economy.

Consumers, Ms. Montgomery added,

"are delaying purchases. They think prices are going to be lower in three months, why not just wait?"

The IMF questioned "the adequacy Tokyo's projection on Sunday that its and implementation of recent initiatives

economy would grow 0.5 percent in the to turn the economy around" in Japan.

## BANANAS: U.S. Moves to Tax EU Goods

## Continued from Page 1

sales because of the EU's banana policy. Four Latin American countries — Ecuador, Guaternala, Honduras and Mexico — have joined the United States

in seeking action against the EU. The commission estimated that the proposed sanctions would hit EU products worth some 501 million European currency units (\$590.9 million). It said they would target exports worth 119 the EU called for the convening of a new million ecus from Britain, 105 million from Italy, 95 million from France, 35 million from Belgium, 70 million from Germany and 22 million from Spain, with smaller amounts for other countries' exports. Denmark and the Netherlands were exempted from the U.S. action because they voted against the

EU's banana import policy.
In September 1997, the EU lost the case brought against it in the WTO, but it contends that changes it introduced last summer, to come into effect Jan. I, meet spect for the multilateral trade system."

the trade organization's demands. The changes introduced a higher quota of to seek trade improvements by either imports from Latin America, subject to a weakening their domestic economies to tariff of \$88 a ton, while imports from curb demand for imports or by deprepreferred countries continue to enter free ciating their currencies to bolster exports.

of tariffs. The EU said that if the U.S. thought that these changes did not meet the WTO requirements, it should resubmit the case to the Geneva-based trade organization. When Washington declined to do this, WTO panel last week.

Washington has denounced these maneuvers as delaying tactics that could set

the case back by a year or more.

While the United States insists it is

unilateral and therefore illegal.

ing that the proposed punitive action is

Without growth in Japan, all of Asia will have trouble overcoming the crisis that erupted last year, the IMF said.

Pratap Raju, also with Independent Economic Analysis, said this was one reason that the growth forecast for China had been reduced to 6.6 percent from 7.2 percent. This is in line with the 6.5 percent estimate from I.D.E.A., as his firm is known.

Mr. Raju said that level of growth was probably sufficient to prevent a devaluation of the yuan, the Chinese currency, that would put pressure on all the other currencies of Asian exporters. He noted that much of China's recent expansion has been the result of government spending, rather than private-sector demand either from Chinese consumers or for-

The IMF report said that along with Japan's slow growth, an area of concern for the world economy was risk of pro-tectionist pressures rising. With capital flows to the emerging markets now es-timated at \$90 billion for 1999, down from a September estimate of \$130 billion, some indebted developing countries could have trouble repaying their loans. That, the report said, might force them

Such actions could lead to trade wars. One region with many indebted coun-

projected that growth would be just 1.5 percent next year, down from 2.5 percent in 1998 and 5.1 percent last year. Brazil, it said, would see an economic contraction of 1 percent next year after a

scant rise of 0.5 percent this year.

tries is Latin America, where the IMF

The IMF imposed fiscal austerity measures on Brazil in exchange for arranging a \$41.5 billion bailout package that was justified in imposing the sanctions by the signed last month. Those measures may earlier WTO judgment, EU officials said cause an even greater economic contracthe commission would seek a WTO rul-tion, Michael Mussa, the IMF research director, told Bloomberg News in Washington. Mr. Mussa said the Fund might reduce its outlook for Brazil in February, when an team from the Fund examines the progress the country has made.



Lucille McLauchlan, convicted of fraud by a Scottish court.

## Freed British Nurse **Stole From Patient**

LONDON — One of the British nurses freed in May from a Saudi jail on a murder charge was found guilty Monday of stealing money from an elderly patient while work-

ing in London.
Lucille McLauchlan, 33, was convicted of theft and fraud by a Scottish court and will be sentenced in January. She was found guilty of stealing £300 (\$505) from the account of an elderly patient while working at a hospital in London in 1996. She was also found guilty of bank card fraud and of forging em-

pioyment references. Miss McLauchlan was convicted by a Saudi court of the 1996 murder of Yvonne Gilford, an Australian nurse, at a bospital in Dhahran. She was sentenced to 500 lashes and eight years' jail, but was pardoned and released in May with her co-defen-dant British nurse, Deborah Parry.

# What 90% of Japan's business leaders have in common

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Average age:
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It covers a total of 58,213 senior executives within 10,563 Japan's major business organizations.

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## After the Bombing

On one level, the latest military campaign against Iraq appears to have been a success. No American or British troops were lost, and, as far as can be judged, civilian casualties appear to have been kept to a minimum as U.S. and British warplanes and missiles struck military targets without inflicting much damage on surrounding neighborhoods. Defense Secretary William Cohen says the campaign set back Saddam Hussein's missile-building program by a year, which is another year during which Kuwait and Israel can have fewer worries about Iraqi poison gas. And the United States demonstrated that it takes seriously Saddam Hussein's violations of UN resolutions and will seek to impede his acquisition of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons.

But the raids will not put an end to Saddam Hussein's efforts to assemble such an arsenal. The Clinton administration set itself a limited goal — to "degrade" his weapons of mass destruction and his military might — and it surely did not reach beyond that. Indeed, one reasonably can ask whether for political reasons the military campaign was halted before even its limited objectives were met, before all the targets on the Pentagon's already circumscribed list were destroyed. That question feeds into larger doubts about where the administration goes

from here in its Iraq policy.
On Saturday, President Bill Clinton set out a series of goals. He would welcome a return of UN arms inspectors, provided they were permitted to do their jobs. He will seek to contain Saddam Hussein and deter him from rebuilding his military capabilities; to do

so, he said the United States would maintain a sizable force in the region and stand ready to strike again. He will seek to keep Iraq under strict economic sanction. And he will "intensify" cooperation with Iraqi opposition groups.

These goals all come with problems. It is far from clear now that UN inspections have any future. The United States may veto in the United Nations any effort to remove economic sanctions, but that does not mean that other countries will concur. Containment is expensive; more to the point, future intelligence on Saddam Hussein's weaponry is likely to be murky and disputed. And there is no consensus about the viability or strength of Iraq's fractured opposition.

None of this means that the administration's goals are wrong. They are right — particularly the understanding that only Saddam Hussein's removal can solve the problem that Iraq now poses for its region and the world. But pursuing these goals will require a seriousness of purpose, a focus of sustained attention that until now the administration has not displayed. The latest and rather brief military campaign provides only partial reassurance in this regard.

In coming days, we will continue to hear assessments of damage inflicted, targets hit or missed. But the true measure of success will be whether the three days of bombing are followed by months and, if necessary, years of substantive policy aimed at producing, as Mr. Clinton said on Saturday, "a new leadership in Baghdad that abides by its international commitments and respects the rights of its own people." THE WASHINGTON POST.

## **Toward a Senate Deal**

After the polarizing impeachment proceedings of the House of Representatives, it is heartening to see the Senate already taking a more measured, less partisan approach to Bill Clinton's serious misconduct. An early and partial sampling of Senate sentiment on Sunday suggests that there are the makings of a bipartisan deal that would bring this matter to a just and speedy resolution by severely censuring Mr. Clinton while allowing him to complete his term. For the first time since impeachment barreled out of control in the House, there may actually be some leaders in Congress willing to negotiate an endgame agreement with the White House.

As the House amply demonstrated, bringing the Clinton case to a fair denovement is exceedingly difficult in the politically supercharged atmosphere of Washington. The Senate should have a better chance of success for several reasons, including the wise constitutional arithmetic that requires 67 votes to convict Mr. Clinton and evict him from office. With that outcome considered highly unlikely in the absence of compelling new evidence against him, alternative solutions will get the serious consideration they never received in the House. Former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter outline a plausible blueprint for censuring Mr. Clinton on this page today.

It was fairly music to the ears of a pained nation on Sunday to hear four senators — Orrin Hatch and Mitch McConnell, both Republicans, and Christopher Dodd and Patrick Leahy, Democrats — talk about the Senate's obligations in a judicious, thoughtful way. In a joint appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press," the four men spoke of the need to place the national interest above party interests, and none of them, including the usually partisan Mr. McConnell, excluded the possi-

bility of censure. Translating that constructive spirit into action will require a number of statesmanlike decisions by Mr. Clinton and the Senate. As the four senators, as well as Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter, suggest, Mr. Clinton must finally give up the concoction that he did not lie under oath in his August grand jury appearance. All settlement possibilities flow from that confession, and without it he will force the Senate and the country to endure an extended trial that will not serve the national interest and will further weaken an already shriveled pres-

idency. With it, he can unlock the door

to a censure package.
As Senator Robert Byrd has noted, the constitution leaves little doubt that the Senate must open a trial when presented with articles of impeachment by the House. But there is no requirement that a case be carried to conviction or acquittal. By a simple majority vote, a trial can be suspended or ended at any time. As Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter properly propose, a censure deal would likely require a pledge from Kenneth Starr to refrain from prosecuting Mr. Clinton once he left the White House.

While the White House must prepare to defend Mr. Clinton in a Senate trial, it should initiate early, serious discussions with Senate leaders about the potential shape of a censure deal. Mr. Clinton would do well to select former Senator George Mitchell to handle this work and to direct his defense. The Senate, for its part, must move energetically to engage Mr. Clinton's representatives.

The indispensable element in all this is the commodity most lacking in Washington at this troubled time seasoned leadership at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. It is time for Mr. Clinton to end both his yearlong estrangement from the law and his refusal to help settle the mess created by his recklessness, and for Congress

to bring this case to a close. —THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Comment

## Living Up to the Treaties

If the Law Lords ultimately do let General Pinochet go, it will be up to the British government to honor its international pledges and use new leg-islation to plug the loophole through which he escaped. Other governments as well should now implement their treaty commitments in national laws which their courts can apply when the perpetrators of systematic arrocities fall into their hands. Establishing a permanent international criminal court to handle the most difficult and egre-

gious cases also now looks more urgent than ever. A growing number of countries are at last ready to begin applying the treaties they have [signed].

— The Economist (London).

## A New Breed of Politicians?

The frightening thing about the sexualization of political discourse is the possibility that only a new breed of Clintonesque politicians can swim in these turbid waters.

- Gail Collins, commenting in The New York Times.

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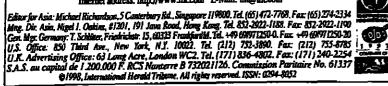
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# Time for a Bipartisan Initiative to Heal America

By Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter

The writers were the 38th and 39th presidents of the United States.

NEW YORK — It is proverbial that old men plant trees as an act of faith, precisely because they know they will not themselves live to sit under their shade. In this spirit, we believe that the time has come to put aside political differences and plant seeds of instice and reconciliation.

There is precedent for this, for during our presidencies each of us made difficult and controversial decisions in efforts to heal national divisions -- the pardoning of President Richard Nixon and the granting of amnesty for those who had avoided the Vietnam draft.

In the wake of President Bill Clinton's impeachment by the House of Representatives, America once again soffers from a grievous and deepening wound. Our people are anguly divided. Our political institutions are called into question. Public confidence erodes under waves of personal smear-mongering.

Against such a backdrop of inflamed emotions, we are convinced that the public good requires a prompt and fair resolution of the impeachment issue. While our acts of pardon or clemency are not directly analogous to the de-cision pending before the Senate, how that body resolves the issue can have similar benefits of healing and finality.

Fortunately, Senate procedures, through their flexibility and freedom, provide the means to end this national ordeal in ways that can uphold the rule of law without permanently damaging the presidency. Before the senators and removal from office; a trial followed

make history, we hope they will first by censure; or censure without a trial. turn to history for help in devising what

would be, in effect, a unique punishment for a unique set of offenses. One hundred and thirty years have assed since the last impeachment of an American president.

At the time of President Andrew Johnson's 1868 trial, as now, Senate Standing Rules and the Rules of Impeachment permitted almost all motions and matters of evidence to be determined by a majority vote. By way of example, early in the proceedings, Chief Justice Salmon Chase, who presided over Johnson's Senate trial, put to a vote the question of whether to delay the trial for 40 days as requested by Johnson's lawyers. Members responded by granting only 10 days.

Most recent impeachment cases involving judges have been resolved expeditiously by having a trusted bipartisan committee hear the evidence, either in public or in private sessions, before making a recommendation to

the full body for its consideration.

How might all this bear on the current situation? In addition to immediate dismissal of the charges against Mr. Clinton, there are four alternatives for the Senate to weigh: a trial followed by acquittal; a trial followed by conviction

By Xu Wenli

Iraq: Anyone Have a Post-Saddam Recipe?

By Robert D. Kaplan

tatorial regime fell, only to have Saddam Hussein. Iraq seems

As intended by the founders, a twothirds majority presents a formidable obstacle for the advocates of conviction and removal. Moreover, the sharp divisions rending the House, although sincerely held and based on principle, do not bode well for a quick or clear decision on either acquittal or removal from office.

However one now supposes that a trial may end, it seems inevitable that by rehashing the build evidence of Mr. Clinton's misconduct, we will only exacerbate the jagged divisions that are tearing at our national fabric. Somehow we must reach a conclusion that most Americans can embrace and that

posterity will approve. Make no mistake, the judgment of history does matter. It matters profoundly. And impeachment by the full House has already brought profound disgrace to Mr. Chinton. Whatever happens in the near future will do little to affect history's judgment of him.

But he is not alone in standing before the bar of judgment. Our political system, too, is on trial. Can we find within ourselves the will, the vision, the generosity and, yes, the courage to resolve the present crisis in a way that makes Americans proud of their leaders, their

It is with this in mind that we per-sonally favor a bipartisan resolution of censure by the Senate. Under such a plan, Mr. Clinton would have to accept rebuke while acknowledging his wrongdoing and the very real harm he has caused.

The congressional resolution should contain language stipulating that the president's acceptance of these findings - including a public acknowledgment that he did not tell the truth under oath - cannot be used in any future criminal trial to which he may be subject. It may even be possible for the special prosecutor publicly to forgo the option of bringing such charges against him when he leaves office.

Some may object that a censure can be repealed by a future Congress, and is thus rendered meaningless. They underestimate the power of the modern news media to foster indelible images in the public memory. In any event, no one can undo Mr. Clinton's impeachment by the full House.

It is the genius of our constitution that its authors provided us a governing charter whose legal mechanisms permit the nation to heal itself, so long as the end result is both justice and grace. Clearly, the American people expect and desire an outcome that is firm, fair and untainted by partisan advantage. That is the challenge before us. How we meet that challenge will go a long way toward healing our divided nation.

The New York Times.

# China: Help to Make Human Rights a Priority Project

BEDING — The aspiration for democracy never ceased to exist in China even after 1949 when the Communists took power. The Advice and Petition movement in 1957. the April 5th movement in 1976 and the Democracy Wall movement that began in 1978 were all

crucial stages. We, the democracy activists who experienced our formative years during the Democracy Wall movement, can work closely with the younger generation of activists and with the Chinese people to ensure that the democratic torch is passed to the future.

decades of economic reform, the ruling party has generated some impressive results in material facilities for the people. Except in some remote and poor areas, the living standard of most in political areas.

C TOCKBRIDGE, Massa-

Chusetts — The real ques-

whether the bombing of Iraq

was called for. It is what hap-

pens after the missile attacks,

which were intended to desta-

bilize Saddam Hussein's re-

gime and to help usher in a new

traveling in five countries in

that region. Both Arabs and Is-

raelis with whom I spoke were

worried that the Clinton admin-

istration's vague statements in

recent months about potential

liberalization in Iraq were an

indication that Washington had no clear idea what would follow

The Lebanese writer Elias

Khoury told me that regimes like the one in Iraq "have not only destroyed their societies

but any alternative to their rules,

so that the choice may lie be-

tween total control and total

Iraq is a carapace of tyranny

L did not claim that this

month's aerial attacks against

fraq would remove Saddam

Hussein from power, or even

seriously reduce his ability to

produce chemical or biological

weapons. It would seem that the

attack was intended to do little

more than demonstrate that the

patience of the U.S. govern-

ment had been worn out and

that its frustration demanded a

by such emotion, and seeking

such modest objectives, can be

justified only if the cost is very

low. But that is far from the case

here. The political fallout is

likely to be more beneficial to

The bombing means the end

of the UN weapons inspection

program, which had consider-

able success over its seven

vears. The United States will be

locked into a huge military presence in the Gulf for years.

the Guif emirates may hate Sad-

dam, but they fear being ac-

cused by their own people of

being lackeys of the United States. Not a single Arab state

that supported the Gulf war, in-

cluding Kuwait, has openly

The principal restraint keep-

ing Saddam in check, economic

sanctions, has been seriously

compromised. If the United

States can bomb Iraq without

backed these raids

Leaders of Saudi Arabia and

Saddam than to Washington.

A military operation inspired

that hides an utter void. Three today, after the economic and

Desert Fox Looks Like a Costly Failure

THE Clinton administration UN authorization, why won't did not claim that this other countries feel free to buy

Thave just spent two months

Iraqi government.

military action.

In today's China, after two

people has improved. However, the polarization within society is becoming increasingly evident there are billionaires living alongside the destitute.

There is also growing public

resentment against the regime for instituting massive layoffs. And China's appalling human rights record has been censured by the international community. Economic and political problems do not occur as separate entities but influence one another. For instance, the layoff problem is not only economic but also political, because it has resulted from the overstaffed working units of the past and from the "iron rice bowl" system in socialism. This cannot be resolved by mere economic

means, but must be solved with-

tion in the Middle East is not times from 1958 to 1968 a dic-social destruction wrought by

another quickly and bloodily re-

place it. But none compares to

Saddam Hussein's, which in

three decades has destroyed the

fabric of communities, busi-

nesses and associations that

make for a functioning society.

ish factions, mirrors the ethnic

and regional fragmentation that

has bedeviled this Franken-

stein's monster of a country

since it was cobbled together

after World War I from three

Ottoman Turkish provinces:

Kurdish Mosul in the north,

Sunni Baghdad in the center

Until the 1958 army coup

and Shiite Basra in the south.

that toppled the Hashemite dy-

nasty in Baghdad, a talented

prime minister, Nuri Said, held

iraq together by appeasing each

ethnic group and playing them

off against one another. But

The attack also endangers

U.S. relations with Security

Council members on other is-

sues. For example, in denoun-cing the attack, the Russians

declared that they were shelving

menace to his own people and to the entire Middle East. There

is a case to be made for uni-

lateral American military action

- if the United States has the

support of its partners and if the

action is on a scale to be truly

effective. But Desert Fox did

have the support of the Security

Council, a fig leaf that has been highly useful in the past. Be-

cause the Clinton administra-

tion made no serious pretense to

play by United Nations rules, it

will be harder in the future to

claim that unilateral U.S. ac-

tions are taken on behalf of the

moralist La Rochefoucauld

called the tribute that vice pays

to virtue, has an honored place

in diplomacy, as it does in pol-

ities. This latest operation lacks

— Ronald Steel, professor

the University of Southern

California, commenting in

The New York Times.

of international relations at

the virtue of its vices.

Hypocrisy, which the French

world community.

Nor did the United States

not meet those standards.

Yes, Saddam Hussein is a

its oil and sell it goods?

plans to ratify START-2.

The opposition, with its Sun-

, Shiite and competing Kurd-

Therefore, political reform must be instituted. Besides, if the layoff problems cannot be solved, they will have political consequences as well.

munist Party cannot deny the necessity of political reform, although the party's political reform measures are either illconceived or getting nowhere. I think that China's political

Thus, even the Chinese Com-

reform should be a gradual process. In modern Chinese history there have been many radical, revolutionary storms inflicting much pain on people but achieving little in terms of people's democratic rights. Now, people hope that polit-

ical activism will not revisit those chaotic times by inciting any unnecessary social movements. In fact, the Chinese protests in the Western demo-

even less prepared for demo-

cracy than it was in the 1950s.

erything," an Arab journalist

who travels frequently to Bagh-dad told me. "All that is left is

clan loyalty and an angry, dis-

officials, scholars and military

men referred to the history of

modern Middle East states, in

which the introduction of

democratic parliaments has

rarely led to stable, pro-West-

Syria held three democratic

elections. All broke down along

ethnic and regional lines. The

military dictatorships that fol-

lowed also fell apart because of

ethnic and regional conflicts. It has taken Hafez Assad's excep-

tional cunning and ruthlessness

In Lebanon in the 1970s, a

weak democratic government

could do nothing as social and

class grievances, combined with old tribal-religious fends,

family prevents a democratic Parliament from undoing the

itary dictatorship; real elections there would probably usher in a

fundamentalist regime. Kamal Salibi, director of the Royal Institute for Interfaith

Studies in Amman, told me that

perhaps only the business

community can provide an avenue for civil society" in places like Iraq and Syria. Given the

circumstances, he said, this

might happen only under the ae-

gis of a benign military regime representing the interests of the

bourgeoisie, which would hold

the country together while start-

ing it on the path of reform. Even if the Clinton admin-

istration had a plan for such a

regime to take power in Iraq

after Saddam Hussein's fall, the

chances of it succeeding would

be modest. While the admin-

istration's reasons for destroying

his ability to maintain weapons

of mass destruction are impec-

cable, without a plan for the fu-

ture the administration may

force a dangerous turning point.

which is part of an artificial

system of Mideast states that

arose after the collapse of the

Ottoman Empire and the post-World War I peace treaties,

would have far-reaching and

The destruction of Iraq,

peace treaty with Israel.

In Jordan today, the royal

Pro-Western Egypt is a mil-

led to civil war.

to hold the country together.

In the late 1940s and '50s,

In every country I visited.

oriented population.'

'Saddam has destroyed ev-

people do not want to see any cratic countries. We can even disorder; instead they want a stable and gradual reform process. The democratic activism should conform to this demand for development within a stable environment

Actions should not be covert but open and in conformity with the Chinese constitution. The tactics of so-called street politics or demonstrations should be minimized or be used with great caution.

This is not to say that the demonstrations that took place in Tiananmen Square in 1989 were wrong. The Tiananmen Square pro-democracy movement was the greatest people's democracy movement in Chinese history. In this sense, it was necessary and right.

We can see that there are often demonstrations and

throughout the region. Neigh-

boring Turkey, Syria and Iran

want it back. Thus a new war

could crupt between Turkey and the Kurds. Because little

political consensus exists in

Turkey on this issue, a

weakened Iraq would lead to a

further militarization of Tur-

key, where the Parliament is

Bombing Iraq is a much big-

ger gamble than embracing the

process merely seeks a legal-

istic framework for the two sep-

arate societies that already ex-

petite for power required to

steer the larger Middle East to-ward a new political order.

for The Atlantic Monthly and author of "The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite," contributed this com-

ment to The New York Times.

The writer, a correspondent

their countries

the general staff.

see that the truck drivers France place roadblocks on the highway and conduct strikes right there. Thus, "street politics" and parliamentarianism are not necessarily in conflict. The form of action depends on the situation. But in order to form a demo-

cratic society, we must graduall shift from a "street politics" approach to parliamentarianism. We must begin to enter the process of instituting an electoral process and to strive for the participation of democracy activists in that process.

At this moment, the most in portant platform for China's democracy movement is the human rights issue. Under the Communist Party, China has a terrible record on human rights. Therefore, this issue must be stressed in the overall move to

bring democracy to China.

We should fight for the early release of prisoners of conscience such as Sun Weibang, Liu Xiaobo, Hu Shigen, Gao Yu. Chen Lantao and all other political prisoners, including those in the Tibet and Xinjiang

all have diseased political sysregions. terns that are behind the curve of ... Sun Weibang had been jailed socioeconomic development in after participating in the Democracy Wall movement, after Iraq's implosion would re-vive the ghost of an independthe Tiananmen movement, he was sentenced to 12 years as a ent oil-rich Kurdistan in the result of an unfair trial, and he north, a region ceded away by Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Many Turks still is serving his terms.

Religious prisoners often are neglected by the people. This problem is serious. These prisoners were sentenced for 'counterrevolutionary fenses" for their ordinary refenses" for uses ligious activities. Now the 'counterrevolutionary'' fenses have been abolished, but this has not resulted in any review of these cases.

already becoming a sideshow to All these political prisoners should be released. The Chinese government should promrecent Wye Plantation accords. ise not to hand out such seh-The Israeli-Palestinian peace tences in the future.

China is no different from any other country in terms of human rights. All nations are made up of human beings, and China's leadership should follow the same standards in protecting the rights of its citizens

ist. But by trying to topple Saddam Hussein, the White House is betting, whether it admits it or not, that it has the historical wisdom and the ap-The writer, a prominent de comment was excerpted by The

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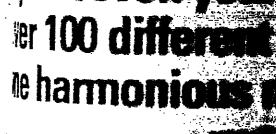
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mocracy activist, was sentencęd in Beijing this Monday to 13 years in prison for his rolling organizing and trying to resister an opposition party. This Washington Post from an article he wrote for the China Strategic Institute in Washington.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

## 1898: Riot in Hupei

SHANGHAI - Native advices from Hankan state that disturbances have occurred in the Province of Hupei, where it is reported a French priest has been murdered in an anti-Christian riot. There are indications of an increasingly dangerous element of unrest in Yang-Tsze provinces.

## 1923: Smuggler Birds

PARIS - The smuggling of drugs by carrier pigeons is not limited to the Mexican border. A few days ago, a French farmer in the Ardennes picked up a pigeon which had died of cold and exhanstion. Hidden among its feathers was a packet tied with fine silk. The farmer was unable to recognise the snowy powder which the packet contained. So he took it to the village schoolmaster, who had no difficulty in unpredictable consequences identifying it as cocaine. The

police had long suspected this method of smuggling the dress across the German frontier, but this was the first case to be brought to their notice.

## 1948: Stalin Turns 69 BERLIN - "Tacgliche Rund

schau," the Soviet Army's official newspaper in Germany, ignored Premier Stalin's birthday today [Dec. 22]. Instead its Russian editors devoted several columns to attacks on French plundering" of the village of Stolpe, near Berlin, the reactionary tendencies" French playwright Jean Paul Sartre and the rise of neo-Fascism in western Germany. But Soviet-licensed German newspapers hailed Stalin as friend of peace-loving working people of all the world." The official organ of the Socialist Unity (Communist) party is sued a full-base story of the

sued a full-page story of Soviet leader's career:

Wakhstan



**OPINION/LETTERS** 

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## INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1998

# There's Nothing Conservative About Flaunting the Rules

By Alan Ehrenhalt

occur in 1776 or 1787, as commonly sup-posed, but in 1801, on the day John Adams, having been beaten at the polls, quietly packed his things and went home. Only then did Americans know for sure that the system worked as advertised.

The routine transfer of power may not be the most dramatic feature of democracy, but it is the most important. It separates America from the majority of countries in the world, which still have not achieved it. Conceding defeat and going home, or staying ea in the minority and allowing the winner to govern — those are not just elements of good manners and sportsmanship: They are the core of patriotism.

I have had a hard time escaping those thoughts as I have tried to make some sense of the events surrounding President
Bill Clinton, Congress and impeachment.
What will people say about all this 20
years from now? Will they quiz each other
on the minutiae of the Starr seport, as they
do on the contents of the Warren report? Will the cigar and the stained dress become

icons of American political history?

Or will posterity simply conclude that one of the two political parties, having lost an election, saw an opportunity to nullify it and proved too weak to resist

the temptation?
I think history will see the current im-peachment affair as the climax of a six-year period marred by a troubling and deepening failure of the Republican Party to play within the established constitutional rules.

It was on election night in 1992 that the Senate minority leader, Bob Dole, hinted at Ic the way his party planned to conduct itself or in the months ahead. It would filibuster any o significant legislation the new Democratic president proposed, forcing him to obtain 60 votes for Senate passage.

r - This was a form of scorched-earth par-I tisan warfare unprecedented in modern

WASHINGTON — A pretty good argument can be made that the defining moment of American democracy did not in the second state of ate history and that, over the years, it has been used more by Democrats than by Republicans. But only after 1992 did it become the centerpiece of opposition conduct toward an elected president.

What the Republicans did in the Senate in 1993 amounted to an unreported constitutional usurpation. The punditocracy chose not to notice.

In any case, it worked. Little that the president proposed became law in the two years that he operated with Democratic majorities.

Congressional Republicans were tempted by success into even more dangerous constitutional mischief. In the fall of 1995, emboldened by new majorities in both the House and the Senate, they forced the closure of the federal government. This was not a political showdown, it was an

attempted constitutional coup.

The founding fathers provided a mechanism for resolving disputes between Congress and the White House: Congress passes a bill, the president vetoes it, and if sufficient votes do not exist to override the veto, Congress lives with the decision.

For the Republicans to act as they did in 1995 — attempting to make the president sign legislation against his will rather than trying to find the votes to override him was an act of recklessness so blatant that even an inattentive public understood it. The House speaker, Newt Gingrich, backed down, the government reopened, and Mr. Clinton was re-elected.

But Republicans were already on the road to further adventure. In August 1994, they orchestrated the dismissal of Robert Fiske, the independent counsel investigating the Whitewater land deal, and replaced him with Kenneth Starr.

Republicans selected as independent counsel a lawyer who was already involved in consultations with a plaintiff



صكذامن الأصل



suing the president in a civil dispute. No one concerned with ultimate constitutional fairness could possibly have made such a choice. No legislative majority interested in the appearance of justice could ever have approved it.

Now it is four years later. Congress has been consumed by impeachment, and the majority party seems genuinely puzzled by the absence of public support for the process. It should not be. The American people are not suspicious about impeachment because of their love for Bill Clinton. They are suspicious, in large part, because of the track record of those bringing the charges.

It is not that there is no legitimate case to be made against the president. It is that Republicans, over a six-year career of consistent disrespect for constitutional rules, have forfeited any right to be taken seriously in making it.

The unpleasant truth is that congressional Republicans, in the generation before 1994, spent too many years out of power -- too many years on the sidelines, uninvolved in managing the governmental process and free to lob grenades at the institutions that make it work. Eventually, they became very effective at it; that is one reason they won the election of 1994. Habits learned over decades do not fade

easily. Having been lifted by the American electorate into a position of genuine power, they have continued to behave more like a party of insurgents, probing for cracks in the constitutional structure rather than taking its rules seriously and looking for ways to make them work. If Republicans in Congress have a com-

mon self-image, it is an image of con-servatism. No doubt every one of the Republicans in the current House would accept "conservative" as an ideological label. But being a conservative must, in the end, be about more than tax cuts or family values. It must be about taking some responsibility for the fragile procedures and institutions that over 200 years have made an orderly public life possible.

There is nothing conservative about the way Republicans in Congress have conducted themselves, either in the impeachment debate or in most of the important confrontations of the past six years. The American people seem to know that, and show every sign that they are willing to judge accordingly.

Alan Ehrenhalt is executive editor of Governing magazine and author of "Lost City." He contributed this comment to

# Worse Than Adultery: Using It as a Weapon

By Janna Malamud Smith

AMBRIDGE, Massachusetts will not know right from wrong. - After the famously adulterous theologian Paul Tillich died, someone said about him, "He wanted to be counted in on every human failing." What I love about the enlogy is that it manages empathy and morality at once. Adultery is a very human desire, as

well as an all too human failing. So now we know that Bob Livingston, the Louisiana Republican who withdrew his bid for the post of speaker of the House, "strayed" in his marriage. Such

## **MEANWHILE**

confessions and revelations seem to be daily, events, and what a miserable spectacle they are. Who knows what sorrows lie behind the public fronts and what the family members suffer?

Most of Mr. Livingston's Republican colleagues — loyal, angry, defensive — lined up behind him to show their solidarity and moralize about the Democrats bad behavior. Meanwhile, some Democrats feel equally furious and hurt, blaming the Republicans for setting the whole mess over politicians' sex lives in motion.

The latest confession, follows "outings" of three other Republicans — Henry Hyde of Illinois, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Representa-tive Dan Burton of Indiana and Representative Helen Chenoweth of Idaho. It is one more reminder of why it is a bad idea to turn consensual sex between adults into political fodder.

Start down that road, and public figures (and their families) are needlessly humiliated, useful careers are destroyed and citizens are left feeling cynical.

My mother called me on Thurs-

day night to tell me the late-breaking news about Mr. Livingston, and we were reduced to giggles. Not because we thought the situation was truly funny, but because the moment was absurd.

Certainly, when cynicism about virtue in high places becomes so abundant, we need to be concerned. But what do we do? Some people would say that be-

cause these public figures and supposed "role models" have committed adultery, they deserve to be outed, and that if they do not suffer some consequences, young people

I suppose we could try going this route again: teaching values to the young by conducting sexual witch-bunts. But what will they really learn? That adults are nasty and unforgiving. That, as Nathaniel Hawthorne demonstrated, it is often too easy to get people enthused about hurting people who behave differently.

Adultery is a private choice. The important rejection of it comes from love, not intimidation. The reason not to commit it is that it is likely to devastate someone you love if he or she learns about it. And the only way that person will not learn about it is if you tell a lot of lies.

Telling a lot of lies eventually harms your ability to maintain a trusting relationship; secretive-ness undermines intimacy. And tending a committed, intimate relationship is a deeply meaningful part of life, though we all know it has its share of bad days.

While biographers have described people who are exceptions

Turning consensual sex into political fodder causes needless humiliation.

and seem able to countenance adultery and marital intimacy at the same time, by and large the reason not to choose adultery is that the pleasure it offers is taken in trade for harming more enduring love and more important loved ones.

But publicly humiliating anyone for consensual adultery is draconian, and wrong. It teaches children cynicism. What they see is how little respect there is for privacy, and how gratuitously and harshly adults will harm one another to gain a little power. And using adultery or any aspect of consensual adult sexuality as a weapon in political battles is more abhorrent than the act itself.

You might say that how and why we disapprove of adultery is as important as whether we do.

The writer, a psychotherapist and author of "Private Matters: In Defense of the Personal Life." contributed this comment to The New York Times.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## On Impeachment

-si What President Bill Clinton -could do to ameliorate the effect self a Senate trial on the country As to exercise his option under -Section 3 of the 25th Amendthent, which would allow number of Mr. Clinton's legacy.

On ODOM. the presidency for at least the distribution of the trial.

Such a statesmanlike gesture - While President Clinton has sulcould even bolster Vice President lied his reputation and his office, he Al Gore's electoral chances in has not significantly damaged the 2000 by providing him with national interest. That distinction some valuable on the job training. This would constitute a supreme irony for those Republi-cans who had hoped to destroy traditions of proportionality and es-

Karistad, Sweden.

has been left to the relentlessly righteous leadership of the House sential bipartisanship that allow

American politics to function. The Republicans will doubtless mockery of my country's consti-

pay the price at the polls for this to the Republicans for finding a way to rid great disservice, but it may be a generation before the U.S. political system regains its balance and the citizens' respect.

GEÔRGE L. BUSTIN. Brussels.

From my expatriate home in Paris, I watched with borror this

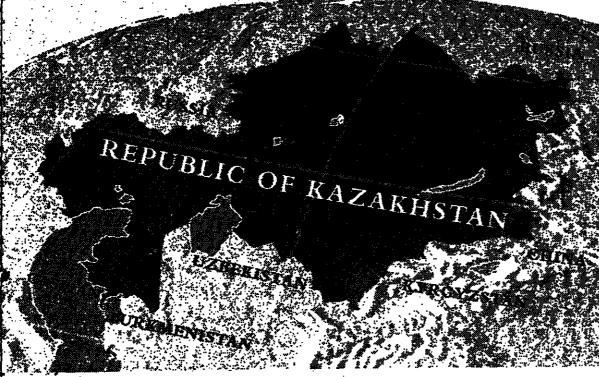
them and emasculated them by his success. By calling it their con-stitutional "duty" they have made a travesty of due process and ridiculed the founding fathers.

themselves of a president who

embarrassed them and deflated

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Republic of

our achievements as an independen nation. After seventy years of religious and political repression and a totally state-owned and controlled media, we have taken bold action to protect human rights.

\_ We have given all of our 16 million people the freedom to practice the religion of their

choice - Muslims and Onthodox, Catholics and Jews, Protestants and Buddhists.

. We have given Russian equal status with Kazakh as the official languages of government, ensuring the full participation of our sizeable Russian minority.

Our President - Nursultan Nazarbaev - set up a Commission on Human Rights to receive citizen complaints and advise on rights issues, working closely with the UN and other international agencies.

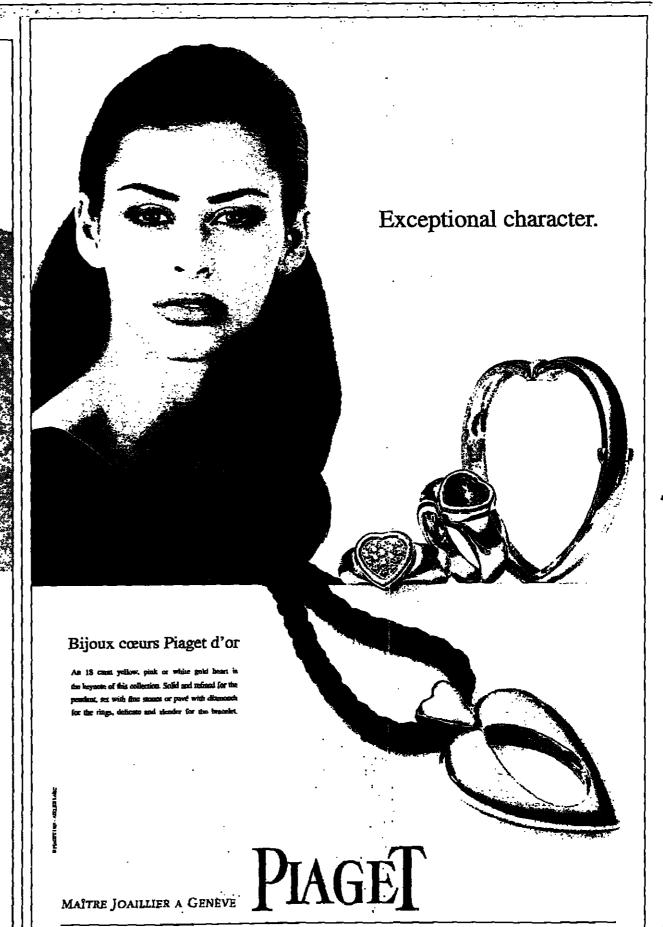
a wide range of privately owned newspapers, magazines, broadcast networks and stations. We continue to expand the role of an active and independent media.

In today's Kazakhstan, we have created a climate of harmony and tolerance among all our peoples. When contrasted with the strife of so many other countries around the world, this is perhaps our greatest

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Diamondstudded strands of water-resistant straw designed by Tereza Xavier, a winner of De Beers' Diamonds International contest; at left, Van Cleef & Arpels clips that can be worn separately or

hooked together

as one ornament.

By Suzy Menkes national Herald Tribune

ARIS — In the alphabet of fashon, "D" is for Dior, but especially for Diamonds. But who doesn't know that? And especially during the holiday season, "G" is for gold as much as for Gucci and "P" for pearl as well as Prada.

You don't get those exact words in the new "Dictionnaire International du Bijou" (Editions du Regard, Paris), a French jewelry encyclopedia that will surely be translated into English.

Whether you call it "diamant" or "diamond," the fat French dictionary with its glossy, strokable white cover and wealth of images, is a joy for jew-

There is an articulated snake slithering its diamond scales across the page toward its tailpiece of emeralds ("C" for Cartier); a realistic beetle spreading turquoise wings from its ugly black head ("S" for scarab), and every conceivable entry from amethysts, blueberry-sized from Van Cleef & Arpels, to Viking treasures in fretted gold.

For those studying the text, it is informative and cogently written. Even if a few entries, like that on jeweler the Jean Schlumberger of Tiffany, seem a bit thin, the volume is generally excellent. Painstakingly edited by Marguerite de Cerval, this dictionary defining jewels yet celebrating their intrinsic magic, will surely become an instant classic.

You could describe the current mood as one of demystifying jewelry. This is certainly true of "Place Vendome," a film directed by Nicole Garcia and named for the swanky Paris square that famously houses Boucheron, Cartier, Van Cleef & Arpels and other classy jewelers - not to mention the Ritz

The Paris jewelry trade is furious with what it considers a bad rap for the business, since the movie features a French ice queen, Catherine Deneuve, trading in gemstones, along with a number of shady Russian underworld characters.

Yet however downbeat the scenario, it still suggests the compelling power of diamonds as a symbol of riches.

Young designers are drawn to diamonds as reindeer are to Santa. Encouraged by De Beers biennial Diamonds International Awards, a new generation is looking at the legendary stones, treating them with energy and imagination, but not too much reverence. The resulting pieces from the 1998 awards have been touring the world to give a sparkling send-off to the old century.



Catherine Deneuve as a jewel expert in "Place Vendome," a film looking at the underbelly of the jewelry trade.

- Fashion.



## BOOKS

## Through the Red Box

By Peter Sis. Illustrated, 55 pages, \$25. Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Reviewed by Richard Bernstein THE first thing you will notice about

"Tibet: Through the Red Box," by the Czech-born artist Peter Sis, is the haunting beauty of Sis's illustrations. We see labyrinths and landscapes of sere beauty and mystery, the fabulous Potala Palace in Prague, Buddhist mandalas and several views of a quiet study in Prague saturated in nightshade.

These arresting and luscious drawings so dominate the book that you almost fail to notice the text that they accompany, but there is a text, almost an incantation, whose motif is a child's wide-eyed rumination on the magical and strange stories of his father.

Here, from what one gathers from the text, is the story: In 1954, when Peter Sis was a small boy growing up in Soviet-dominated Prague, his father, Vladimir, a filmmaker, left for Beijing to teach filmmaking to Chinese students. From Beijing, Vladimir went to Tibet with his students to make a documentary of a road-building project through the

mountains. Somehow, however, a landslide separated him from his Chinese hosts, and he became lost in Tibet. After some wandering, he found his way to Lhasa. the Tibetan capital, where he met with the Dalai Lama, then 19, and warned

engineered by Maoist China. Then a year late Vladimir returned to Prague and to Peter and his family with a small red box in which he kept a diary of his sojoum in Tibet.

Many years later, Peter, a successful and illustrator of children's books living in New York, is summoned back to Prague by his father. There Peter opens the red box, kept closed for all of those years, and reads his father's diary. "It's like an ancient anthill or a grave of memories buried in the sweet smell of honey, rosin and sandalwood," he writes, and then embarks on the slender and mystical volume he has put before us.

The story of a man stranded for a year in Tibet in 1954 and of a faraway son who wonders about his fate is, quite simply, fabulously rich in possibilities. 'Tibet: Through the Red Box' is in this sense a charming book and a visually beautiful one, but it is also precious and unsatisfyingly cryptic. In appearance and textual style it is a children's book, but it requires a good deal more knowledge of political matters — the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, for examole, and the Chinese invasion of Tibet

for it to be fully grasped by children. The book is partly Sis's memoir of his father and partly an imaginative (rather than historically real) evocation of a Tibet that despite his father's warnings was invaded and transformed by China. It is also a somber recollection and transformation into images and words a

explained disappearance.

At the same time, it is too childlike in tone and structure to engage the adult mind even while its adult themes are not for children. Sis's voice is intentionally naive and his story an enchanted-forest tale, but it is one thing to be poetic and philosophically suggestive and another to develop themes and characters about which and whom we would like to know

"After all these years, my father is calling me home," is the way Sis begins his tale. What we do not know from the book, but learn from interviews that Sis has given, is that his summons to Prague came when his father fell ill with prostate cancer. The box itself was kept closed all these years because his father, who is still alive, was concerned that it could get him into trouble with Czechoslovakia's Communist authorities, which is another detail we know from interviews, not the

The book's fabulist elements seem symbolic of a Tibet that is about to be altered forever by entirely nonfabulist Communist Chinese. But Sis's more intense concern is the role that the red box always played for him: a source of wonderment and puzzlement of a lifelong curiosity about Tibet and the father who got lost there and, perhaps, out of fear and hardship, allowed his imagination free rein. So did Sis the younger, and we are beneficiaries of that, even as he

whets but does not satisfy our curiosity. New York Times Service

## **CHESS**

## By Robert Byrne

THIS year's United States Olympiad L teamhad a very strong captain, Larry Christiansen of Boston. Unfortunately the United Sates chess players had a narrow miss and had to be content with the silver medals.

The United States' high point was its remarkable 4-0 whitewash of the strong Dutch team in Round 5. Alex Yermolinsky played a sharp positional game to defeat Jan Timman.

The Rossolimo Variation, 3 Bb5, replaces force with guile in the attempt to

SICILIAN DEFENSE			
White Timman	Black Yerm'sky	White Timman	Black Yerin'sky
1 e4 2 Nf3 3 Bb5 4 0-0 5 c3 6 Be2 7 ed 8 d4 9 Nd4 10 cd 11 Nc3 12 Bg5	5 NS	18 de 19 Na4 20 Sb? 21 Rc1 22 Re4 23 Rc6 24 Rc6 25 Rc4 26 Nc3 27 b4 28 Re3 30 Ne4	yerm'sky d4 Qa5 Rad8 d3 Bd7 Bc6 Qd5 Be5 Qd6 bg Bf4 Qe6 fe
13 Rel 14 Bh4 15 Bg3 16 Bf3 17 Be5	g5 Nc6 Be6 Ne5	31 Rec3 32 g3 33 gf 34 Rg3 35 Resign	R14 Qc4

overthrow the Sicilian Defense. Primarily the plan is to give Black doubled c was and secondarily to exploit Black's accommodations to the threat With 6 Be2, Timman intended to

obtain advantage in the center with d4, thus pressing Yermolinsky to leave the main channels of the Sicilian for a French with 6...d5.

After 7...ed, Timman should have preferred to annoy his opponent with 8 Rel!?, when 8...g6 9 d4 cd 10 Nd4 Nd4 is no longer good in view of 11 Qd4.

After 13...h6, Timman should have

played for a draw with 14 Be3, but not 14 Be7 Qe7 15 Nd5 Qd6 16 Bf3 Be6 17 Nc3 Qd4 18 Bb7 Rab8 19 Qd4 Bd4 20 Ba6 Rb2 21 Nb5 Bf6 22 a4 Rb4 23 Ra3 Bb2 because there might still be tricks for Black here.

After 16...Be6, Timman was forced to cede the bishop pair with 17 Be5 Ne5 18 de, and Yermolinsky got a powerful

On 19...Qa5!, the d4 pawn was inviolate because 20 Qd4 Rfd8 21 Qe4 Bd5 22 Qc2 Rac8 23 Nc3 Bf3 24 gf Be5 favors Black

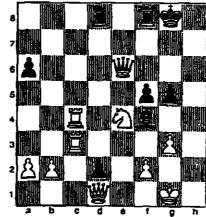
Yermolinsky's 22...Bd7! shook the white position. If 23 b3, then 23...Ba4 24 Ra4 Qe5 25 Ba6 d2! 26 Rb1 Rfe8 27 Qf1 Qe1 28 Rd1 Qd1 29 Qd1 Re1 wins. If 23 Nc5, then 23...d2 24 Rc3 Bf5 25 Ra4 Qc3! 26 bc Bc2! 27 Bf3 Bd1 28 Bd1

After 23 Bc6 Bc6 24 Rc6 Qd5 25 Rcc4 Be5, Yermolinsky had recovered his pawn with decisive positional su-

On 26...Qd6, Timman tried to open the black king position with 27 h4, but

that only worsened his situation. After 33...Rf4, the white king was the vorse off, and Yermolinsky threatened 34...Qg4 to exchange queens and promote the d pawn. In a hopeless situation. Timman blundered with 34 Rg3, dropped a rook to 34...Qc4 and gave up.

## YERMOLINSKY/BLACK



Position after 32 g3

## **CROSSWORD**

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See our Friendships every Saturday in The Intermarket

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1998

# For Fashion Aficionados, Gift Books Packed With Charm

By Suzy Menkes International Herald Tribune

ARIS -- The weight of words and the power of pictures — those are the strengths of the fashion books you might find as a big bulge in your Christmas stocking. A hefty tome, stuffed with information, but with great visual appeal is the new look for your groaning

One of the most stylish is "The Fashion Book" (Phaidon Press, London), which has translated a formula already used

for fine art into the universe of style.

As in "The Art Book," where Constable, Matisse or Van Gogh were represented by one seminal image, each entry of designer, illustrator, icon or personality is given a single, defining image. Just 200 concise words relate picture to person, explaining her/his importance to and influence on fashion.

The result is a dazzling compilation of photographs that often have a haunting quality — like the sensual, decadent often have a haunting quality — like the sensual, decadent part of the century, to the Hollywood designer Nolan Miller image of a sprawled model by the late photographer Guy posing with the cast of "Dynasty" in the 1980s.

Bourdin — famous for leaving actress Ursula Andress naked on a glass table for six hours while combing Paris for exactly

the right shade of rose petals to match her skin. The concept of selecting the perfect, apposite image inevitably works best when the designer's fashion "moment" is already pinioned like a butterfly in its era: Pierre Cardin's groovy 1960s group in geometric dresses, or that famous Helmut Newton photograph in 1975 of an androgynous figure wearing an Yves Saint Laurent tuxedo in a rain-soaked Paris

The entry for YSL — indeterminate long dress and text nattering on about the makeup artist — is banal to a degree. It proves how hard it is to caption a fashion force in a single image - and how smart the editor Tamasin Doe is to get it

right so often. Any fashion aficionado would certainly drool over so many striking and historic images, which include splendid period pieces, from the graphic illustrations of Paul Iribe in the early historic many holes halls made and historic many holes have been something the historic many histor

CHAMPAGNE COGNAC

"The London Fashion Book" (Rizzoli International, New York) is about local history. But when that locality happens to be the swinging London of the 1960s through the current Cool Britannia of Tony Blair's Britain, there is a lot of fun to be had and the author, Andrew Tucker, makes the most of it.

Focusing both on people and on different districts of London, the book takes the reader on an insider's tour that goes into the jumbled interior of a vintage store in hip Notting Hill, into the funky, punky streets of Soho and even inside the hallowed rooms of Saint Martin's College of Art and Design the cradle for so many new generation Britpop designers. So there are no tounding mothers and fathers, like Vivienne

Westwood and Paul Smith? You bet. Even John Galliano, who has upped and left London for Paris, gets an homage in words and pictures that

spans six pages. Perhaps the image that best captures the London spirit is not Westwood, flaked out in her platform shoes on a park bench, but the model on an open-topped bus, wearing a vast hat by Philip Treacy, which passes by the Houses of Parliament and the River Thames like a galleon in full sail.

Math and fashion to not make obvious partners, but the book that best captures the quirky charm and visual splendor of genuine style is called Anna Piaggi's "Fashion Algebra" (Thames and Hudson i...

Its author is the legalithm and original fashion editor whose brilliant eye has captured what's hot, what's cool and what is classically beautiful on magazine pages, most recently for Italian Vogue

The Double Pages that Pinggi has produced for a decade, in collaboration with the fashion historian Vern Lambert, who died in 1992, and with the photographer Alfa Castaldi, are an intoxicating collage of her visual references.

OW do they add up? Backed by Piaggi's deep culture, her gadfly eye hops from a straw Gianfranco Ferre hat to a Thonet rocking chair or takes on kitsch, cute and chehéd references to Stars and Stripes.

Fashion's obsession with daisies is shown in earrings and flower prints through the marguerite penciled around Twiggy's eye in her cover-girl days in the 1960s. Not incidentally, Plaggi also offers history lessons, hiding her erudition in the upbeat images that have triggered connections in her mand. Thus is a book from which you could learn

about historic lace or discover the essence of provincial chic. Like all great editors, Piaggi, who is herself a colorful character and dresses like a perambulating fashion museum, keeps herself outside ner pages - but puts her fashion heart

and soul into them. The trend for didactic but attractive fashion books was seeded by Editions Assouline, whose "Fashion Memoirs" now seem to have included anyone who has wielded a pair of dressmaker's scissors and anything that has ever hung on a

clothing rack. Always elegantly land out with pertinent pictures and a concise text, offerings soon to be published include; an edition on Kenzo and another edition on the shoe designer Roger Vivier in the "Memoire de la Mode" series; a book on the jewelry designer Harry Winston and a separate volume on Chanel jewelry in the "Memoire de la Joaillerie" series, and two volumes of "Memoire de la Beaute" focusing on Lancome and Helena Rubinstein.

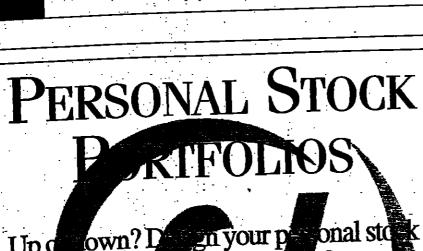
Philip Treacy's black feather hat, worn by Michelle Paradise from the "The London Fashion Book."



A pink satin pump, embroidered with pearls and sequins, from "Memoire de la Mode: Roger Vivier."



A gigantic straw hat by Gianfranco Ferre and rocking chairs by Thonet from Anna Piaggi's "Fashion Algebra.



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## INTERNATIONAL

# **'Cat and Mouse'** Over

## <sup>3</sup>U.S. Plans to Keep Up Pressure on Saddam

By Joseph Fitchett International Herald Tribune

PARIS — With United Nations arms inspectors no longer able to function in a resolve," he said. Iraq, the Clinton administration intends to apply open-ended, direct military way to clear his country's record on presidency.

Clandestine weapons, a senior American presidency.

'The Clinton team's goal may have bombing to end the

Describing the U.S. policy as "containment plus." the Clinton aide, who spoke by telephone from Washington, said that "the cat-and-mouse game with the inspectors is over and the burden of proof has shifted to the Iragi regime."

This stance will dis-appoint France, China, Russia and other countries hoping to see the current crisis lead to negotiations that offer Baghdad an end to UN sanctions in exchange for a long-term system of monitoring Iraqi weapons development without the inspections of the special -UN team, known as Unscom.

"In practice, Washington seems to be signaling that it will no longer deal with Iraq as long as Saddam Hussein is " a French official said. The French government had expressed hope that the U.S. air raids amounted to finishing the job that the UN inspectors had been unable to complete.

But the U.S. official indicated that Iraq would have to find a way to make more concessions curbing its military potential before President Bill Clinton would consider reviewing the punitive sanctions. Iraq's leaders "have an af-

## Amid Threats, Kuwait Tightens Up Security

KUWAIT — Kuwait stepped up se-curity measures at home and around its foreign missions Monday after receiving a "terrorist" threat following the U.S.-led assault on Iraq.

"Al Hayat newspaper notified us last night that it received threats against our embassies," a senior Foreign Ministry official said Monday. The information was taken seriously

because the London-based daily has in

the past received credible threats and has been the target of letter bombs.

"If there is even 1 percent of a threat, we take additional measures on top of already strict measures," the official added. Kuwaiti military facilities were used during the British and American

The *Quali*ther Group

acrial bombardment of Iraq.

firmative obligation to disclose their military accounts and they can figure out a mechanism for doing it - perhaps with help from countries that want to get

If this stance produces a stalemate, experts noted, the United States has pressure on the Baghdad regime until the enough firepower in the Gulf to keep Mr. Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, finds a Saddam botiled up for several years — at least for the duration of Mr. Clinton's

> been to do enough bombing to end the circus with inspectors that was grabbing time and headlines," according to John Pike, an official at the American Federation of Scientists, who in the past has been critical of the Clinton administration's failure to launch heavier strikes against Iraq's weapons programs. But the U.S. goal may simply have been to gain more time — a year's additional delay in missile programs that were already two years away from posing a threat to neighboring countries, according to U.S. military spokesmen. If the confrontation heads toward

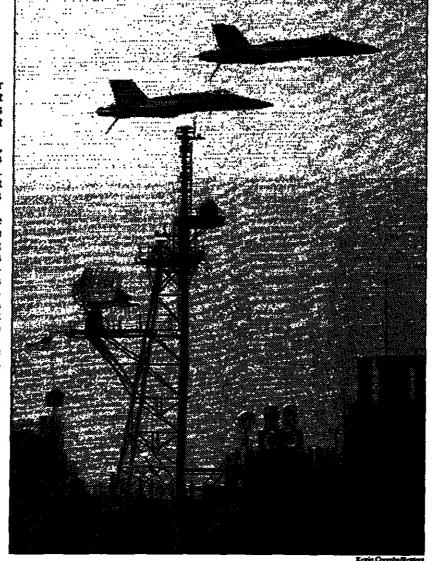
fewer but potentially bigger incidents, the key becomes U.S. military credibility, and Samuel Berger, the national security adviser, justified last week's air raids in precisely those terms.

"We're going to continue to have to contain Saddam Hussein, just as we have for the last seven years, and the most important instrument is the credible threat of force," Mr. Berger was quoted in The Washington Post as having said during the weekend.

'For me, the most important reason why we had to do this was that to have failed to do so not only would have lost Unscom but would have lost the credible threat of force," he said, implying that the UN team of arms inspectors had reached the end of its useful life. Mr. of elite Iraqi forces by catching them missiles and British bombers struck three Berger added that the timing of the air asleep in their barracks with the first strikes reflected a "constellation of salvos. "We don't know the extent of forces" — including tacit French and human casualties and we do know that Russian acquiescence — that was liable the Iraqis are doing their best to keep it to dissipate.

But the U.S. official who spoke on Washington targeted its bombing to carry a warning of continuing U.S. pressure. He said the damage had weakened the of the reported damage to facilities Iraqi regime's power base and militaryindustrial complex without harming Iraqi civilians or directly worsening their plight. Most important of all, he said, the bombs hitting command-and-control centers manned by Iraqi intelligence officers carried a message of worse to come if Iraq posed new threats.

As a sign of U.S. determination, the



Two U.S. warplanes flying by the guided missile cruiser Gettysburg in the Gulf during a ceremony on Monday. Aircraft from the carrier Enterprise are to resume patrols of a no-flight zone over southern Iraq.

asleep in their barracks with the first main categories of targets: elite Iraqi secret," he said. Along with several other independent

condition of anonymity Monday said that experts. Mr. Pike said that casualties must have been heavy - "in the high hundreds or low thousands" - in light manned by Iraq's Republican Guards and intelligence services. A French official said that his gov-

ernment was "puzzled" by Iraqi secretiveness about human losses. Normally, casualties have been exploited for propaganda purposes, but this time, he said, losses were possibly too severe to disclose in Iraq.

units protecting the regime; facilities for making missiles, and an oil refinery near the port of Basrah that had been turning out oil products that earned an estimated \$100 million a year from snugglers for the Iraqi regime.

"The Americans got the big missile facilities that would worry Iraq's neigh-bors," according to Francois Heisbourg, a French defense specialist, citing strikes at Taji, Zaafaraniyah and Shahiyat -installations where Iraq was allegedly planning to upgrade its short-range missiles, authorized under UN rules, to enable them to reach cities in Saudi Ara-

But Mr. Heisbourg and Mr. Pike agreed that the U.S. air strikes were far Clinton aide confirmed that the air strikes had sought to kill large numbers damage estimates, experts said that U.S. weapons programs.

Continued from Page 1

# U.S., Britain and Iraq Sort Through Damage \*

strikes demolished Iraq's two main factories for producing parts for short-range missiles permitted by the United Nations, officials said Monday.

Speaking at a news conference in Baghdad, Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz also said that the four nights of strikes had killed 62 soldiers and wounded 180 others. He said civilian to be attacked again.
casualties were "much, much higher," Rear Admiral J. Cutler Dawson Jr., casualties were "much, much higher," but he did not give figures.

"The serious damage was in civilian sites," he said, calling it "the American way of war.'

He added that Iraq remained on high alert and that he believed the attacks could resume.

In halting the strikes Saturday, President Bill Clinton said the assault had severely damaged President Saddam Hussein's ability to boild weapons of mass destruction. Mr. Clinton ordered the strikes after a report by the chief United Nations weapons inspector, Richard Butler, said Iraq was obstructing the inspectors' work.

The attacks on the factories near Baghdad appeared to be part of a strategy to destroy installations that could be used to produce weapons of mass destruction. Besides the missile facilities, nearly all of Iraq's other military factories were attacked and many sustained heavy damage. Iraqi officials said

Mr. Aziz, however, maintained that the strikes had failed to dent the Iraqi military might, and he accused Mr. Clinton and Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain of lying about the raids' suc-

Britain brushed aside criticism of its participation in the raids and said it was confident of forging a diplomatic consensus that would keep Mr. Saddam

There should be no carrots without sticks," Deputy Foreign Minister Derek Patchett said.

Mr. Blair defended the strikes vig-orously in a CNN interview. He said the way forward now was to contain Mr. Saddam, if necessary through military force, to tighten sanctions and to investigate whether it was possible to put a 'proper' regime into Baghdad. "We will do whatever we can to bring about the downfall of Saddam," he said.

Military officials in Washington said that it could take several months to determine whether the air strikes, against about 100 targets in Iraq, had achieved the goal of degrading Mr. Saddam's

IRAQ: Under UN Pressure, U.S. May End Nuclear Inspections

warmaking capability. Officials said .BAGHDAD — U.S. and British air about three-quarters of the targets had

sustained damage.
"We consider this a very successful attack at this point," said General Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of

Still, Pentagon officials have cantioned that pictures of bomb damage are often deceptive and that Iraq might have

commander of the eight-vessel battle group supporting the aircraft carrier Enterprise in the Gulf, praised the accuracy of his pilots and denied claims by Iraq that hospitals or other civilian sites could have been hit by misdirected U.S. strikes.

The air wing commander on the ship.
Captain Tom Hagen, told the Enterprise crew that preliminary analyses showed that 72 pages of the control that 72 percent of the air strikes were on

That estimate did not take into account Tomahawk cruise missile strikes and only included the more than 300 missions flown off the Enterprise during the four nights of attacks. An additional 350 sorties were flown off the ground, including flights by B-1 and B-2 bombers and British Tornado fighter-

In Baghdad, there were few signs of damage as life returned to normal Monday, although reporters were restricted their movements around the city.

Iraqi authorities have not taken foreign journalists to sites where there were significant civilian casualties, as they have in the past — a possible indication that civilian casualties either were not high or were scattered.

Mr. Aziz said that of the 62 members of the military who were killed, 38 were from the elite Republican Guard.

"What they really destroyed are barracks of the Republican Guard and the Special Republican Guard," Mr. Aziz said. "Barracks and buildings cannot be moved and cannot be protected. These barracks and buildings can and certainly will be rebuilt.'

Iraqi officials said that among the sites attacked were the al-Nasser missile parts factory in Taji, 60 kilometers (40 miles) north of Baghdad, and the al-Nida factory, south of the capital.

The officials said the attacks had virtually halted Iraqi efforts to produce short-range missiles. They said the speed of the attacks took them by surprise and said workers did not have enough time to remove crucial equipment from either factory. (AP, Reuters, AFP, WP)

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## restructuring of the Special Commission, another unacceptable course for Washington. Diplomats said Monday that closing to be backed by the right of monitors to the nuclear file seems to be the most look at any sites deemed suspect because palatable of limited choices for Wash- of information collected by sensors or by ington as the Security Council begins to other means like the international polinegotiate a compromise plan for dealing cing of exports to Iraq. with President Saddam Hussein. Paul Leventhal, president of the independent Nuclear Control Institute in Washington, said in an interview on Monday that the administration appears to believe that agreeing to close the nuclear file will save the Special Commission, known as Unscom. He added that given divided. "I would hope that in the weeks the pressures on Mr. Butler — and Irao's determination not to work with him or his commission in the future - it may not be on the essential work of the Council," he possible to keep the old inspection system said. In the meantime, he has asked the ntact. All the inspectors are now out of Iraqis for their views through his special Mr. Leventhal's research institute has recommended that the commission be given control of nuclear inspections because, he said, the International Atomic Energy Agency has been "bam-boozled" by the Iraqis and let Mr. Saddam's government off too lightly. "At the very least, the IAEA should be held accountable for its nonalarmist assessment of Iraq's nuclear weapons program," Mr. Leventhal said, adding that there are major unanswered quespossibly as early as next week. tions on Iraqi weapons designs and other data. "The IAEA trivializes all missing information," he said. In an article to be published this week in Arms Control Today, the journal of pendent Palestinian state. the independent Arms Control Institute in Washington, two other nuclear ex-The cabinet suspended the Wye perts say that "essentially all of Iraq's pre-Gulf War nuclear facilities and equipment have been eliminated or con-

verted to nonproscribed purposes."

But the article — by David Albright, president of the Institute for Science and International Security in Washington, and Khidhir Hamza, an exile Iraqi nuclear scientist who was formerly in charge of developing a nuclear weapon for Iraq — say that intensive research has continued in Iraq to solve problems the bomb program encountered earlier. "These activities include design work, laboratory efforts, subcomponent production and the operation of test ma-

chines," the article said. It concluded that "Iraq could make a nuclear device within two to 12 months after deciding to do so, assuming it acquired sufficient material." If the material were highly enriched uranium, the authors wrote, "the more probable time is closer to two Given Iraq's nuclear potential and

Baghdad's policy of placing experts in chemical and biological weapons under the umbrella of atomic programs and therefore largely out of the reach of inspectors from the Special Commission, the limitations of long-term monitoring have been at the heart of the debate within the United States.

Doubts have intensified since the Iraqis began demonstrating in August that they are likely to forbid spot follow-up inspections if these become necessary. The fragis have also blocked visits to private said.

## homes and institutions, where experts say work on all programs is hidden.

cing of exports to Iraq.

The pressure on the Security Council to find a common course of action on Iraq is coming not only from member nations but also from Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who said Monday morning that "it is not helpful that the Council is

ahead, we'll find a way of bringing everyone together so that we can carry envoy in Baghdad, Prakash Shah, and he seems inclined to accept that Unscom Iraq's views need to be considered.

"Several governments say that we need a new structure, we need a new Long-term monitoring, which the inspection mechanism," he said "I don't United Nations calls "ongoing mon-know what that means. I don't know what itoring and verification," was intended that entails. I don't know what kind of structure they have in mind, but it could emerge after the discussions. We first need to find out the posture of Iraq."

Alain Dejammet, France's representative, echoed fraqi demands when he told reporters who asked about the future of the Special Commission on Monday morning that "we need something, but we need something which is really professional and interested in monitor-

Mr. Dejammet said that he was not necessarily thinking of a new organization, but something that was more in harmony with the intentions of the Special Commission's creators in 1991. That is usually shorthand for a body ready to move more quickly to the lifting of sanctions, a process that diplomats thought would be finished in a matter of may be in line for an overhaul, and that months. It has still not been completed after more than seven years.

## ISRAEL: Parliament Approves Early Vote

Continued from Page 1

two further readings to become law,

Agreement on a date for the election must also be reached. Mr. Netanyahu favors late April, days shy of the May 4 deadline when Mr. Arafat has said he reserves the right to declare an inde-

greement Sunday, formalizing a freeze that Mr. Netanyahu had imposed earlier this month as he wrestled to win back hard-line coalition rebels opposed to giving up occupied land in the West

Mr. Netanyahn was elected in mid-1996 to a term that was due to end in late 2000. He will remain in power in a caretaker capacity with full powers in the run-up to early polls.

He made no mention in his speech of the divisions wrought by the Wye accord in his coalition of rightist and religious parties, which has clung to a 61-10-59 majority in Parliament. Instead, he portrayed the march to the ballot box as a chance for Israelis to

choose between his tough "peace with

security" policies and those of the left-center Labor Party, which struck the landmark Oslo interim peace deal with Mr. Arafat in 1993, Mr. Arafat in 1993.
"I promise you that Arafat is the first person who thinks any alternative is better than Netanyahu," he said. "The

Palestinian understands this. And most of the nation understands this." Palestinians branded Mr. Netanvahu's conditions unacceptable, while Mr. Barak said the government had scrapped the peace process and fallen

former army chief of staff, said.

"Agreements must be honored." he

government has abandoned the peace process which it signed up to.

■ Palestínians See Stalemate

Joel Greenberg of The New York Times eported from Ramallah, West Bank: With their latest accord with Israelaready frozen, Palestinian officials view Israel's early elections as an uncertain gamble that holds out a prospect for change but ensures a deepening stalemate in peace efforts in the coming months.

There was a strong sense among law-makers gathered in Ramallah on Monday for a session of the Palestinian legislative council that peace efforts have once again become subject to the vagaries of Israeli domestic politics.

Courting rightist support before Monday's parliamentary vote on new elections, Mr. Netanyahu secured approval by his cabinet Sunday for a series of conditions for further troop withdrawals in the West Bank, effectively suspending the land-for-security accord signed Oct. 23 in Washington. Chief among those conditions was a demand that the Palestinian Authority "abandon its intention to unilaterally declare a Palestinian state" on May 4, 1999, when the interim self-rule agreements with Israel expire.

Mr. Neranyahu contends that he simply wants an end to Palestinian violations of the agreement. But to Palestinian ears, his conditions are excuses to renege on the accord, boding ill for the whole world understands this. Every coming months even though Mr. Netanyahu might ultimately be unseated. Some Palestinian officials expect a

deepening diplomatic paralysis.

'He should not kidnap the peace process as a hostage to achieve what he is planning," said Ahmad Korei, known as Abu Alaa, the speaker of the legislative hostage to extremists.

"The prime minister won't teach me about Israel's security," Mr. Barak, a accords. "No don't thin election milk." accords. "No doubt this election will freeze the agreement and it will be very dangerous. We are waiting for May 4, this "The trust must be renewed. This is the last chance for this agreement."

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ENTOCK WARK

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1998

# Copper Collapse Dents Chile Economic Miracle

By Clifford Krauss New York Times Service

TIERRA AMARILLA, Chile-Five months ago, the copper mine where Mario Olivares had dug, drilled and hammered for the last six years shut down under the pressure of collapsing world copper prices. After getting a monthly salary equivalent to more than \$400, he now earns less than a dollar a day selling flavored ices from his wooden shack.

About 1,000 miners have lost their jobs this year in this town of 14,000 people set in the desert badiands of northern Chile. The earnings of thousands of others have been reduced by

more than 20 percent. Strapped for money, the local government has been forced to cut housing subsidies and hours at the local health clinic. Drug and alcohol use are on the rise, local officials say.

School attendance on Saturdays to make up for class time lost during a teachers' strike has been surprisingly high, administrators say, because the children want the free lunches.

"My family could use more food," said Mr. Olivares, 36, who has begun looking for seasonal agricultural work at a far lower salary than before. "I see

more poverty in the future."

The changes in fortune for Mr.
Olivares and Tierra Amarilla are a direct result of the economic slowdown in Asia, which has pummeled the prices of many commodities that are the economic lifeblood of developing countries.

Chile has been South America's economic model for 20 years, with growth rates averaging more than 8 percent a year over the last decade. The country led the way in privatizing inefficient state-owned businesses, and its privatized pension system has been adopted by Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay.

But now Chile's economic miracle is stumbling, mostly because nearly 40 percent of its export earnings come from copper. From \$1.19 a pound in June 1997, copper's price on the world market has declined to 65 cents a pound, its lowest level since 1987. That has meant a loss of \$1.5 billion in export earnings in the first 10 months of this year.

The effects could have been far worse had oil prices not also tumbled, saving Chile more than \$200 million over the same period. Nevertheless, the signs of a painful adjustment are everywhere in a country that has become increasingly

middle class over the last generation. Sales of cars, televisions, houses and apartments have dropped sharply in the last few months. The economy, which grew by more than 7 percent in 1997, will grow by only 4 percent this year. That would not be bad if most of the growth had not come before Inne.

[The International Monetary Fund said Monday that it had revised downward its growth forecast in 1999 for most of Latin America, including Chile,

Reuters reported from Washington.
[The fund predicted regional growth
of 2 percent, down from 3 percent. The
outlook for Brazil has deteriorated significantly, the IMF added, and its economy is now expected to shrink by 1 percent next year.]

In Chile, zero-to-negative growth for the fourth quarter is expected by most economists to remain constant for at least the first half of 1999. Unemployment has increased to 6.9 percent from 6.5 percent in the last year and government economists predict continuing deterioration to at least 8.5 percent by June.

But for all the bad news, a consensus has emerged among local businessmen

and economists, government officials and Wall Street analysts: Chile should rebound in the second half of next year, unless a Brazilian financial collapse shakes the entire South American economy or if General Augusto Pinochet's extradition proceedings in London set

off political turbulence here. The analysts note that the Chilean peso has remained stable, the local stock market has revived in recent months and the Central Bank has lowered interest rates several times over the last two months. While foreign investment has slowed, Exxon and Procter and Gamble recently announced major new investments.

And, unlike several Asian economies that have been shaken by the collapse of weak banks, strong government regulation and the emergence of many foreign banks in recent years have kept the Chilean financial sector sound.

'We have an economy that's decelerating very sharply," said Jose de Gregorio, an economist at the Univer-sity of Chile. "But overall, the country is strong. It's an open economy, there's low corruption and the financial system



MAKING MINIATURES IN A SHRINKING CLIMATE — An ETS craftsman in Prague assembling a reproduction model of a turn-of-the-century locomotive. With the Czech Republic undergoing a credit crunch, the company, which employs 15 and contracts out more work, cannot get the financing to expand. Page 15.

## **AMP** to Acquire British Life Insurer

LONDON - AMP Ltd., Australia's biggest fund manager, agreed Monday to buy National Provident Institution, a British life insurer, for 3.6 billion Australian dollars (\$2.24 billion).

The deal calls for AMP to pay 1.4 billion dollars to NPI members and inject 2.2 billion dollars in capital to strengthen NPI's financial position.

AMP said it would make the acquisition through its wholly owned subsidiaries AMP (UK) PLC and Pearl Assurance PLC and demutualize National Provident Institution, canceling the

membership rights of policy holders.
NPI, like other insurers in Britain, Australia and Canada, is abandoning mutual ownership because it is easier to grow with a shareholder structure. Because they failed to keep pace, mutual insurers have been takeover targets: AMP lost out last year when it tried to buy Scottish Amicable, which went to Prudential Corp. of Britain for £2.8 billion (\$4.71 billion).

"AMP's quite a powerful operation

now," said Eamonn Flanagan, an in-surance analyst with Charterhouse Tilney Securities in Liverpool, England. George Trumbull, AMP's chief ex-

ecutive officer, said buying National Provident Institution made strategic sense for the Australian insurer because it was highly complementary with AMP's existing British businesses.

"We have made it clear that AMP's strategy was to broaden the group's product and service offerings, the geographic markets and the types of customers covered and the ways the group distributes its products," Mr. Trumbull said. AMP, which is engaged in a 3.3 dol-

lar billion hostile takeover of Australia's fourth-largest general insurer, GIO Australia Holdings Ltd., is trying to reduce its dependence on investment income, which generated 80 percent of earnings in the first half. "We'll continue to look for other ac-

quisitions, but I think we will focus on integration for now," Mr. Trumbull said. "We certainly have more capacity than we'll use on these two transactions."

Mr. Flanagan and other British analysts said AMP paid slightly more than expected for NPL.

'It looks like a fairly full price for

this business, but you can see why they did it," said Trevor May, an analyst at Salomon Smith Barney

Mr. Flanagan said AMP needed the acquisition more than other bidders, which included CGU PLC and Swiss Life. That is because it makes AMP's British operation big enough to join the Financial Times-Stock Exchange 100 benchmark stock index if AMP sells shares to the public.

AMP is expected to contribute to the cost of NPI converting from mutual ownership as part of the deal. The Australian firm, founded in 1849, itself converted from a mutual society to a corporation on Jan. 1.

NPI specializes in retirement-related financial services to both individual and corporate clients. The acquisition of NPI will bring AMP's funds under management to approximately 200 billion dollars. (AFP, Bloomberg)

# **U.S. Stocks Surge After House Vote**

Investors Believe Clinton Will Remain President

Compiled by Our Staff From Disp

NEW YORK - U.S. stocks rose strongly Monday on expectations for President Bill Clinton to keep his job and on relief that air strikes against Iraq

The Dow Jones industrial average closed 85.22 points higher at 8,988.85, while the broader Standard & Poor's while the broader Standard & Poor's 500 index finished up 14.81 points at a record 1,202.84. Technology issues were particularly strong, helping send the Nasdaq composite index up 51.88 points to close at a record 2,138.02.

Gaining issues outnumbered losing ones by a 3-to-2 ratio on the New York

Stock Exchange.

The House of Representatives voted Saturday to impeach the president on one count of perjury and one of obstruction of justice connected to his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, a former White House intern. The Senate will now hold a trial to determine whether to remove Mr. Clinton from office. But many analysts and investors do

not expect that to happen.
"The market believes that it's extremely unlikely the Republicans will muster enough votes," said Kevin Colglazier, a fund manager at Global

Asset Management.
The end of air strikes on Iraq also lifted stocks. Investors who had moved money into the Treasury bond market as a haven against prolonged tension in the Middle East began to move those funds back to the stock market on Monday.

"This is the seasonally strong time of the year," said Bill Mechan, chief mar-ket strategist for Cantor Fitzgerald. There were no surprises over the weekend, and the Iraq situation is over."

The price of the benchmark 30-year Treasury bond fell 25/32 point, closing at 102 29/32, sending the yield up to 5.06 percent from 5.01 percent on Friday. "Stocks are strong enough to keep pressure on the bond," said Roger Early

gain about 1.5 percent in the final trading days of the year, according to the Hirsch See MARKET, Page 14

at Delaware Investments. Stocks tend to

## **Thinking Ahead** /Commentary

# Americans Indulging in Eurobashing

By Reginald Dale

ASHINGTON — Are we witnessing the debut of a new kind of ugly American, one determined to treat Europeans with arrogance and of integration that Europe has em-disdain even as they strengthen their braced since the mid-1950s. Virtually unity by adopting a single currency? So say two prominent Europeans, William Wallace of the London School of Economics and Britain's House of Lords, and Jan Zielonka of the European University Institute in Florence, who write in Foreign Affairs magazine that "Eurobashing is back in fashion in the United States.

Their view is supported by European officials who complain that Americans are once again warning of a protectionist "Fortress Europe" as the bulk of Western Europe approaches economic and monetary union - just as they did when the European single market was introduced in the early 1990s. There is no denying that the im-

minent arrival of the single currency, the euro, has provoked some alarmist reactions in the United States. One highly, if less hysterically, critical. But that does not mean that Euro-

bashing is all the rage. The more ex- the need for a "social Europe. treme criticisms shock mainstream

as they do Europeans. U.S. policy remains officially supportive of the latest French president of the European move to integration, just as it has been Commis

of previous steps.
What is true is that many Americans, particularly from the center rightward, have long been suspicious of the form by definition, they regard the central-ized institutions in Brussels as far too bureaucratic, if not socialistic, just as they would an excessive concentration of U.S. political power in Washington.

Some of these Americans reject the idea that Europeans could ever make such a union genuinely open and democratic — not least because of the influence of traditionally dirigiste countries led by arch-interventionist

intensified following Europe's so-called "lurch to the left," the recent coming to power of center-left gov-ernments in 11 of the 15 member countries of the European Union. Many of their fears are exaggerated.

But Americans — and Europeans, too - are right to be suspicious when well-known economist, Martin Feld- they hear Oskar Lafontaine, Gerstein, has predicted that monetary union will generate such tensions it could lead to war. Others have also been many's new leftist finance minister, talking of ending "unfair" tax competition in the European Union and the French Socialist government led by Prime Minister Lionel Jospin stressing

Such thinking is ominously remi-American observers of Europe as much niscent of the social engineering so

tion, who was seen by many especially in Britain and America as the embodiment of an over-reg-

ulated, interventionist Europe. These latest concerns come on top of understandable anxiety in the Clinton administration that Continental Europe's protectionist instincts will lead the EU to repel a new flood of cheap imports from countries hit by the Asian economic crisis, preven Europe from playing the role it should in resolving the crisis alongside the

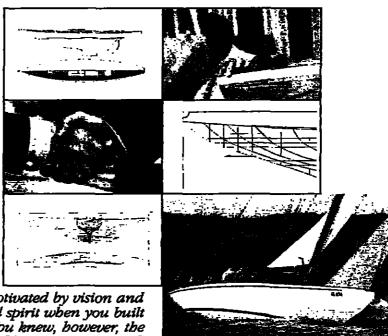
United States. It is also true, as Lord Wallace and Mr. Zielonka write, that there remains a certain American ambivalence as to how far European integration should 'for fear it could produce a true global rival" - an ambivalence that is rendered more acute by the euro's ad-

Inevitably, all this will lead to some Eurobashing, and that is not neces-sarily bad. Heightened American criticism of Europe is partly due to the recognition that, with the euro, Europe will become more powerful as Asia's

influence, if only temporarily, wanes. Some American concerns are instified. A little Eurobashing should not impede the building of a closer trans-Atlantic partnership — any more than the America-bashing that constantly emanates from Europ

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## **CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES**

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## Very briefly:

The Federal Trade Commission voted 4 to 0 to take Mylan Eaboratories Inc., the largest U.S. maker of generic drugs, to court on antitrust charges, seeking \$120 million in consumer refunds for what the commission said were overpriced drugs.

Levitz Furniture Corp. plans to close more than a third of its stores and to cut 25 percent of its work force in a bid to return to profit. The No. 3 U.S. furniture retailer has been dperating under Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection since September 1997. About 1,000 of the company's 4,000 workers will lose their jobs.

 Dell Computer Corp. will use America Online Inc.'s online service as the default Internet provider on its consumer computers sold in the United States and Canada.

Motoroia Inc., the world's No. 2 cellular telephone maker, said it bought Lucent Technologies Inc.'s cellular-phone research division for an undisclosed amount.

Torstar Corp., publisher of the Toronto Star, plans to buy four newspapers from Quebecor Inc. for more than 350 million Canadian dollars (\$226.6 million) to become No. 1 in sputhern Ontario in circulation. AP, Bloomberg, Reuters

## **Weekend Box Office**

LOS ANGELES — You've Got Mail dominated the U.S. box office over the weekend, with a gross of 18.7 million. Following are the Top 10 moneymakers, based on Saturday's ticket sales and estimated sales for Sunday.

-		_
1. You've Got Mail	Warner Bros.	st8.7 million
2. The Prince of Egypt	Dream Works Pictures	\$14.3 million
1 A Burt's Life	Walt Olsney	\$9.5 million
4. Stor Treic Insurrection	Paramount	\$8.5 million
5. Jack Frost	Warner Bros.	\$5 million
6. Energy of the State	Touchstone Pictures	S4.4 million
7. The Rugrals Movie	Poranount	\$3 million
8. The Waterboy	Touchstone Pictures	\$2.9 million
9. Psycho	Universal Pictures	\$1.8 million
10. Elizabeth	Polyanam	\$887,673.
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Jan. 1, 1992 = 100	Level	Change	%change	year to date % change
World Index	200.67	+ 2.77	+ 1.40	+ 16.59
Regional Indexes				
Asia/Pacific	90.47	<b>— 0.66</b>	<b>— 0.72</b>	5.83
Europe	232.98	+ 5.52	+ 2.43	+ 20.69
N. Amenca	283.21	+ 217	+ 0.77	+ 31.12
S. America	83.90	+ 2.52	÷ 3.10	<b>— 45.04</b>
Industrial Indexes				
Capital goods	298.75	+ 5.80	+ 1.98	+ 44.62
Consumer goods	240.70	+ 0.90	+ 0.38	+ 14.77
Energy	201.68	+ 1.85	+ 0.93	+ 3.45
Finance	139.71	+ 2.89	+ 2.11	+ 13.62
Miscellaneous	192.32	+ 3.60	+ 1.91	+ 28.32
Raw Materials	164.29	+ 2.25	+ 1.39	1.76
Service	214.23	+ 3.72	+ 1.77	+ 22.90
Utilities	183.81	+ 2.12	+ 1.17	+ 10.15

## **AMEX**

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## **Dollar Rises Amid Hopes For Clinton**

Bloomberg News NEW YORK - The dollar rose against most other major currencies Monday as U.S. stocks rallied and as expectations rose that President Bill Clinton will not be driven from office by the Senate, following his impeachment over the weekend by the House of Representatives.

"A strong opening on Wall Street" bolstered the dollar, said J. P. Neergaard, manager of foreign exchange at Den Danske Bank. 'It's widely expected there will be some sort of compromise" on Mr.

## FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Clinton, he said. "People are tired of this dragging out."

The dollar was quoted at 4 P.M. at 1.6711 DM, up from 1.6650 DM on Friday, and it rose to 5.6025 French francs from 5.5840 francs and to 1.3587 Swiss francs from 1.3486 francs.

The U.S. currency slipped slightly to 116.165 yen from 116.30 yen. The pound edged up to \$1.6831 from \$1.6810.

The House impeached Mr. Clinton Saurday on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice, setting the stage for a trial in the Senate. The U.S. currency rose after traders concluded the Senate was unlikely to garner a two-thirds majority needed to oust Mr. Clinton.

Also lifting the dollar was the rally in the Dow Jones industrial average, which closed 85.22 points higher at 8,988.85.

Still, the prospect of a trial, which could divert lawmakers from economic issues, will probably limit the dollar's gains in coming days, traders said. "The view is that he's not going to be ousted, but it's going to be a drawn out, politically damaging affair," said Clark McGinn, head of sales and marketing at Royal Bank of Scotland. "We see the dol-lar staying at about these levels" through the end of the year.

Traders also said the gains may be exaggerated because investors were reluctant to place big bets before the end of the year.

The dollar got support from news that German export growth slowed in the third quarter, giving the Euro- for PCs and electronics." pean Central Bank more scope to cut European interest rates next year.

"We are seeing more signs of a slowdown in Europe, no question," said Stephen Gallagher, an econ-

NYSE

**AMEX** 

# U.S. Personal Saving Rate Slips Below Zero

By Sylvia Nasar New York Times Service

NEW YORK - Americans should be saving like crazy. Baby boomers are now in their prime earning years; the oldest among the 78 million boomers born between 1946 to 1964 are due to retire in a decade or so. The after-tax return on investments has rarely been better and the proliferation of 401(k) plans, individual retirement accounts and other tax-favored saving plans has made thrift more painless than ever.

Instead, Americans are saving less than ever. Indeed, according to government figures, consumers have recently been spending all of their incomes and then some. In September, the personal saving rate slipped below zero for the first time since the Great Depression. October was more of the same.

On the surface the reason seems perverse: Economists say the better people feel about their situation these days, the less likely they are mingly imperturbable stock market, strong confidence in the economy and the ease of borrowing all help make consumers feel richer

rate, which includes not just households but country. corporations and the government sector - has rebounded from its low in the early 1990s.

'We have a lot of saving now compared to then," said Gary Burtless, an economist at the capital base certainly has not suffered. Foreigners have been more than happy to send America their extra savings and, given the risks abounding in the rest of the world, seem inclined to continue to do so.

Finally, the fear that consumers will react to the recent orgy of spending by suddenly turning styles to which they have become accusthrifty seems overblown. Consumers are not as stretched as the saving numbers make it look. Wage and salary income is going up faster than spending, and that is what most households rely

One reason the official savings rate is falling is that interest income, which goes mainly to the to put aside extra money for the future. The seemingly imperturbable stock market, strong reported income gains. Most forecasters agree, is because saving is the difference between two however, that each individual's own income, job situation, wealth and confidence loom far

and less inclined to postpone gratification.

Some experts warn of dire consequences, but the situation may not be as bad as it looks.

Larger in household spending decisions.

Of course, many Americans are passing up a or spending decisions.

Despite the drop in personal savings, the broad-they save today. That seems a trifle irrational, est measure of saving — the national saving even for well-off citizens of a very wealthy

The standard neoclassical view that people make rational trade-offs between present and future and that we're saving the amount that best suits our purpose is obviously wrong," Brookings Institution. Investment in the U.S. said Robert Frank, an economist at Cornell who argues in his new book, "Luxury Fever," that Americans ought to be saving 20 percent of

their incomes.

Even optimists concede that one- to twothirds of baby-boomer households are not saving enough to maintain in retirement the life-

Still, many economists say that focusing on the plunge in personal savings is a bit misleading.

For one thing, the personal saving rate is one of the government's least reliable statistics. That is not because the government does not count 401(k)s and pensions or subtract loans. It very large quantities, overall personal income and overall personal spending.

Minuscule changes in either reported income or spending can produce huge changes in the

## MARKET: Wall Street Rallies on Expectations Clinton Will Remain in Office

Continued from Page 13

organization, a research group. Internet stocks surged after Mary Meeker, who follows the industry for Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, told Barron's that the increase of Internet users to 80 million now from 5 mil-

America Online, the biggest Internet access provider, rose 11% to 116, while Yahoo!, the biggest search directory, rose 34 15/16 to 2471/4.

Companies that provide the hardware for the Internet also surged Cisco Systems, which makes the switches and routers that link computers into networks, rose 41/4 to 94 11/ 16. Dell Computer, which sells PCs over the Internet and also benefits as households and businesses buy more computers, rose 4 1/16 to 71 15/16.

"As the Internet does well, they will do well," said James Grefenstette, a money manager at Federated Investors. "You're going to have higher demand for switches and routers, and you're going to have higher demand

Onsale, which operates auctions on the Internet, rose 24 5/16 to 68 after it said it would provide pricing information to Yahoo!'s small-business Web site. Yahoo! visitors can omist at Societe Generale. "Con- bid on a piece of equipment by link-

The Internet frenzy lifted shares years, could win wide use in place of Federal Open Market Committee, of brokerages that offer discount stock trading on the Web. Charles Schwab, the largest on-line brokerage, rose 7 7/16 to 51 13/16. E\*Trade Group, No. 2 in the business, jumped 4 3/16 to 321/6.

Among other issues, Amgen rose 12 3/16 to 100 5/16 after it said it won billing services for phone compa-all rights to a once-a-week version of nies, fell 3 15/16 to 15 on concern J&J dropped 2 11/16 to 76 131/16. The new drug, which is likely to

the current drug, which usually is taken intravenously three times a week. International Telecommunication Data Systems, which provides

## U.S. STOCKS

its anemia drug Epogen in an arbi-tration battle with Johnson & Johnson. that its contract with Aliant Com-munications will not be renewed after Alltel buys Aliant.

Investors and analysts will be reach the market within about two watching a meeting Tuesday of the

which sets monetary policy for the U.S. central bank. But no change in interest rates is expected. "We've seen some signs the

economy is doing OK, the turmoil in Asia has calmed down a little bit and the markets are up in general around the world," said Arthur Micheletti, an economist and investment. strategist for Bailard, Biehl & Kais-

er. "They're going to need more evidence the economy is slowing; down' before cutting rates again. (Reuters, Bloomberg)

## Oil Price Woes Lift Venezuelan Unemployment

Venezuela has been rising in the second half of the year as the oil- companies with fewer than five em- Mr. Bolivar said the manufacbased economy's plunge into recession has left more than a million
people without jobs, the official statistics agency said Monday.

The employment strategy for many people has turned into a strategy of survival," Mr. Bolivar

Announcements of layoffs at turning and construction sectors had,
been among the hardest hit by the connection of layoffs at turning and construction sectors had,
cession has left more than a million
many people has turned into a conomic difficulties.

Announcements of layoffs at turning and construction sectors had, Unemployment is set to rise to 11

percent of the work force at the end of 1998 from 10.6 percent at the end of 1997, the government said. Miguel Bolivar, director of the statistics agency, said 1.1 million people, in a work force of 9.9 mil-

on, were out of work.

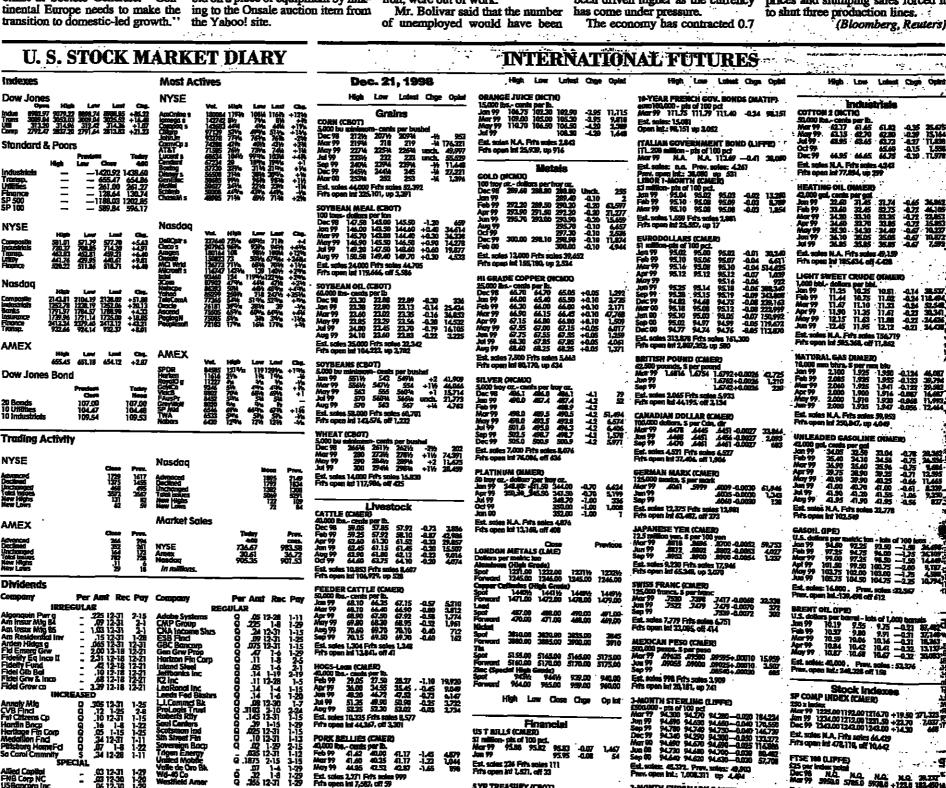
higher had people not migrated to CARACAS — Unemployment in jobs in the informal economy working as street vendors or at said last week.

year has pushed the economy intorecession by forcing the state oil monopoly to cut production and the government to reduce spending. At the same time, interest rates have been driven higher as the currency

percent this year after growing 5.9 percent in 1997, the central bank

manufacturers have become com-A tumble in the price of oil this mon in recent months. In October a. paper company, Manufacturas de Papel CA, said it had laid off 600 workers. Weeks later a steelmaker. Siderurgica del Orinoco CA, said it r was laying off 150 workers as low prices and slumping sales forced it to shut three production lines.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)



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A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR

# il America Czech Capital Crunch Derails Business Dreams Exports Grow Investor's Europe

By Peter S. Green

PRAGUE - Four-year-old Filip Simmek's eyes were wide and his head swiveled as he watched a small black locomotive whistle, puff and haul a string of freight cars around its track in a Prague shop.

"I like the black locomotive, and

I like the coal car," Filip said as his grandfather, Jaroslav Polivka, watched But Mr. Polivka said that Filip was too small yet for such nice trains, and besides, the price was relatively high. A boxed set of a locomotive, three wagons and some track cost 3,700 koruny (\$123), more than a week's wages for the average Czech.

High prices and low incomes in this recession-struck economy mean a disappointing Christmas for most Czech retailers, with consumer spending 20 percent below last year, according to government statistics.

And that spells bad news for small Czech manufacturers like Gustav Taus, whose company, ETS, makes the metal trains that kept Filip enthralled.
Sales are flat at about 1,500 lo-

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comotives and 4,000 wagons a year. bringing in about 10 million to 12 million koruny, Mr. Taus said.

He would like to raise a few miland his marketing budget at home and in valuable export markets such as the United States and Western

1989, Mr. Taus, a television en nonexistent. regineer, rushed into private enter-prise, building television studios and closed-circuit TV systems. But competition from Asia forced him



Filip Simmek, 4, watching an ETS train run in a Prague shop. But his grandfather wasn't buying.

low labor costs, good workmanship. A metalworks stamps the sheet met-

lion kermy to increase production . But the obstacle Mr. Tans faced is one that every year forces thousands of small-business owners to call it

Mr. Taus and most small-litically connected financiers and inbusiness owners, it is almost impossible to find investment cash in troubled banks are broke. They will the Czech Republic today.

dustrial behemoths, the country's possible to find investment cash in troubled banks are broke. They will not lend to Czechs without collat-When the Iron Curtain fell in eral, and venture capital is virtually

"The problem was how to be a capitalist without capital," Mr. Tans said.

Using 3 million koruny of his

own and a loan from a friend, Mr. handmade electric trains using the contracting out almost everything. and engineering skills of Czech al and produces the blanks, which workers. cars at a toy factory in low-cost East Bohemia. A costage industry of re-tirees around the country makes accessories, and the electric transformers that power the trains are

made by yet another company. ETS itself has only 15 employees, who design new models and assemble special orders and more complex locomotives at a small

house in a Prague suburb. Even though two-thirds of ETS production sells for hard currency broad, banks won't finance Mr.

revived a dream of his to produce Taus set up a virtual factory in 1991, too risky," he said. "I have no other house to pledge as collateral, and they say they don't know if there's a

market While Mr. Tans cannot find a few cessful business, the two struggling manufacturers of real railway cars, Skoda, the Plzen-based engineering giant, and CKD Praha, have asked for billions in government bailouts after nearly bankrupting the leading

Czech banks. This is an irony not lost on Mr

Despite years of government promises to support small business, there's no money to be had, he said. For small businesses, he said, "the government is just talk, talk, talk."

# **More Slowly** In Germany

WIESBADEN, Germany Growth in German exports fell sharply in the third quarter as slowing sales to the rest of Europe and recessions in Japan and Russia undercut demand, the Federal Statistics Office said Monday.

Exports by Europe's largest economy grew just 3.1 percent as the economic crises in emerging mar-kets began to take their toll. The increase marked a slowdown from export growth of 10 percent in the previous three months and 15.9 percent in the first quarter.

The biggest losses were seen in trade with Russia and Japan, with exports dropping 26.6 percent and 12 percent, respectively. But those two markets account for only 15 percent of German exports. German export growth is slowing mainly amid a weakening of demand within Europe, which buys 56 percent of German goods. Annual export growth to Europe slowed to 5.1 percent in the third quarter from 10.8 percent over the first nine months and 13.3 percent

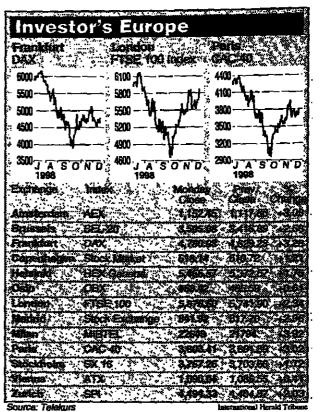
during the first half of 1998.
"The braking of the foreign marmillion koruny to expand a suc- kets can't be overlooked any more,' said Uwe Angenendt, an economist at BHF-Bank AG in Frankfurt. 'German exports are firmly in the grip of the recessions in Asia, Russia and Latin America."

The trade figures coincided with news of accelerating import price deflation. November import prices fell 5.8 percent year on year, the ninth consecutive month of year-on-year declines. That followed a fall of 5.7 percent in October, the Office said.

The export data belie robust German economic growth in the third quarter when GDP expanded by 2.8 year-on-year, but economists say a slowdown is now under way and will become evident in data for the final three months of the year.

"It's clear that the fourth quarter will be very weak. We expect stagnation in gross domestic product and would not be surprised if there is

trading partner in the third quarter, accounting for 11 percent of exports and 11.1 percent of imports. (Bloomberg, Reuters)



## Very briefly:

 Hungary's economic growth accelerated in the third quarter to a rate of 5.6 percent from a year earlier, up from a rise of 5.1 percent in the second period. But growth in Poland slowed to percent in the third quarter from 5.3 percent in the second

• Edel Music AG, a German music production company, won European licensing rights to Walt Disney Co.'s music catalog, including the soundtracks to "The Lion King" and other

blockbusters. Ruhrgas AG of Germany will buy an additional 1.5 percent of OAO Gazprom, the Russian natural gas giant, just two days after Ruhrgas agreed to pay the Russian government \$660 million for a 2.5 percent stake in the company.

· Britain's current account, the broadest measure of the balance of trade in goods and services, moved into a surplus of £2.28 billion (\$3.83 billion) in the third quarter from a deficit of £1.33 billion in the second quarter, as a record surplus on investment income offset a widening deficit in traded goods.

 Italy's economy will show growth of 1.5 percent this year, Treasury and Budget Minister Carlo Ciampi said. It was the third time that he scaled back the growth forecast for 1998, from an initial prediction of 2.5 percent.

• Svenska Cellulosa AB, a Swedish paper company, agreed to buy a unit of Rexam PLC of Britain for £195 million (\$327.8 million), bolstering its position as the biggest European maker of corrugated packaging.

• Dentsche Bank AG is forming a strategic alliance with one of the biggest private banks in Greece, EFG Eurobank. Deutsche Bank will acquire 10 percent of Eurobank from Luxembourg-based Consolidated Eurofinance Holdings, which will continue to hold 81 percent of Eurobank. Terms were not disclosed.

# Russia Offers Bank Shares to Foreign Bond Investors

MOSCOW — Russia said Mon-Deputy Finance Minister Mikhail The talks on the terms of res

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day that it would allow foreign investors to use a third of cash proceeds from the restructuring of its debt for new bonds Thesday.

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Also Monday, the French Association of Russian Bond Holders are reditors and the reditors are reditors.

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use the new paper to invest in industrial concerns.

shares in Russian banks.

Russia will continue talks Tuesday they thought they would be allowed with a working group of foreign to invest in Russia," Mr. Kasyanov bendholders in Moscow to work out said. "Now they feel that the op-

## WORLD STOCK MARKETS

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## Very briefly:

• Standard Chartered PLC agreed to sell life insurance on commission from Prudential Corp. PLC, the largest insurer in Britain, Hong Kong and Singapore.

• Samsung Group of South Korea said it would not accept the government-mandated swap of its auto unit for rival Daewoo Group's electronics business unless Daewoo pledges to continue building Samsung cars.

• DDI Corp., the third-largest telecommunications company in Japan, said it would lower rates for international calls by an average of 8.4 percent next month to retain an edge on rivals KDD Corp. and Japan Telecom Co., which recently matched DDI rates.

• Singapore's non-oil exports fell 6.5 percent in November from a year ago, the biggest drop in almost two years, as orders of computer peripherals, semiconductors and chemicals fell.

• Malaysia will ask for \$5 billion in financial aid in addition to \$2.06 billion already pledged by Japan to help the country recover from its worst recession in 13 years, according to Mustapa Mohamed, Malaysia's second finance minister.

 The Japan Steel Export Association's chairman, Akira Chihaya, said that claims by U.S. steelmakers that the Japanese have created barriers to imports were unfounded. He said USX-U.S. Steel Group, Bethlehem Steel Corp., Ispat Inland Inc. and LTV Steel Co. offered no proof.

**Moody's Outlook Lifts South Korean Markets** 

SEOUL — A possible upgrade of South Korean credit ratings by Moody's Investors Service Inc. igand currency markets on Monday.

The Korea Composite Stock capitalize both sectors. Price Index closed up 7.70 percent, or 40.42 points, at 565.27 on Mon-1,193.0 won in Seoul trading, down from 1,208.2 won on Friday.

Prompted by improved foreignexchange reserves and stabilizing local financial markets, the U.S. rating agency said Saturday that it eign-currency ratings for possible curities.

upgrades.
Set for review are the country's Caal ceiling for foreign currency

eign currency ceiling would bring South Korea back to investment-

"I think the upgrade is a done deal," said Steve Taran, managing director and global head of sovereign research at Salomon Smith Barney. "I think we'll see it in the next two months at the latest. It's just a matter of time.

Mr. Taran added that Moody's was "in fact saying that the policy changes that have taken place in Korea are moving Korea in the right

Na Min Ho, a broker at Daishin Securities, said: "It looks like the foreign business community is be-. ginning to recognize the country's financial stability."

But experts warned that while some key indicators were signaling a few beams of light at the end of the tunnel for Korea Inc., it was still too early to declare an end to its financial crisis.

While foreign-exchange reserves have surged to record highs, liquid-ity has improved and the won has strengthened, fundamental faults still lurk in the real economy, ana-

Seoul's corporate and financial restructuring drives, aimed at streamlining its giant conglomerates and cutting mounting bad debt, nited rallies in the country's stock are far from over with tens of billions of dollars still needed to re-

That will have an impact on the still fragile stock market and on sovday, while the dollar slipped to ereign and corporate credit ratings 1,193.0 won in Seoul trading, down throughout next year and into 2000, analysts said.
"I would not say that the current

stock market jubilation was a bubble, but there will be a sharp correction in the short to medium would review South Korea's for- term." said Tae Jung of SG Se-(Reuters, AFP)



EYE ON THE ROAD -Hiroyuki Yoshino, Honda Motor's president, predicting a 7 percent jump in domestic sales for next year.

## Ball long-term foreign currency ceiling for bonds and notes and its Japan's Trade Surplus Falls bank deposits, Moody's said. An upgrade of the long-term for For 1st Time in Nearly 2 Years

TOKYO — Japan's trade surplus in November fell for the first time in

almost two years as exports to the United States and crisis-hit Asian neighbors slumped, the Finance Ministry said Monday. Tokyo's trade surplus shrank

15.1 percent from a year ago, to 902.1 billion yen (\$7.76 billion), the first decline since March 1996, the ministry said.

Exports in the month fell 12.7 ercent to 3.688 trillion yen, while imports tumbled 11.9 percent to 2.786 trillion yen, the ministry said.

A heavy decline in exports to Asia and the United States, as well as a sudden surge in the value of the yen, pulled the surplus down well

below analysts' forecasts. But a ministry official said it was ficult to judge with the result of a single month, we need to monitor

the movement," the official said. Since the yen has weakened and has relied on strong exports to keep the economy afloat.

A fall in exports of electrical parts, including microchips and office equipment, contributed to the over-

Japanese imports in all major cat-egories also fell except for jewelry and food, the ministry said. Japan's politically sensitive sur-plus with the United States was

barely higher, up just 0.9 percent to 488.2 billion yen. Washington officials have grown increasingly concerned about the growing trade imbalance between the two countries, and have warned that this could bring confrontation in

the coming months. Japan's trade surplus with the United States has now risen for 26 consecutive months.

But exports to the United States fell 7.1 percent to 1.114 trillion yen, not yet clear if this signaled a major the first fall in 32 months. Imports change in direction. "As it is difthe first fall in 32 months. Imports

U.S.-bound exports of steel products in terms of value surged 72.7 percent and auto shipments indemand has dried up at home, Japan creased 2.8 percent, while auto imports from the United States grew 39.9 percent, the ministry said.

Japan Seeks to Spend Its Way Out of Slump

By Sheryl WuDunn

TOKYO - The government proposed a budget Monday that aims to lift the economy out of recession, but its vast size underscores the pressing worry that a spending spree now will break the official coffers

Stimulating the economy was a theme throughout the process of drawing up the budget, but the bal-senior budgetary official in the Filooning costs of financing a revival suggest that the government has only a short window to spur growth before it gets stuck on a collision course with a looming debt burden.

The proposed budget amounts to a record 81.86 trillion yen (\$703.87 billion) for the next fiscal year, proved by the cabinet Priday, before on special loans to small business month, includes a significant increase in outlays for construction of roads, bridges, dams and other public works projects aimed at reviving the struggling economy. The overall budget is up 5.4 percent from the current fiscal year.

Just a few years ago, the world was singing the praises of Japan's prudent fiscal balances, and the government embarked on a disciplined ansterity program to further trim its budget deficit. But now, mired in the ment's big splurge, and even with. worst recession since the end of World War II, the government has the effective individual and corpobeen forced to abandon that aus- rate income tax rates for next year, terity, and its finances are in sorry consumers may still be wary of step-

icit is already the highest as a percentage of gross domestic product among leading industrial countries.

Moreover, the total debt is proected to rise to about 110 percent of the economy for the 1999 fiscal

By the end of March 2000, the year.

amount of outstanding government. bonds, which will finance much of the deficit, is expected to rise to 327 trillion yen.

As tax revenues plummet with the recessionary economy, the government must rely on issuing more, bonds to cover the larger budget shortfalls. Next year, the government plans to issue bonds worth a record 31 trillion yen.

"This is like a time bomb," a. nance Ministry said.

Tapping a second coffer, the govemment also proposed raising spending by 5.7 percent, to nearly ... 53 million yen, under a special pro... gram often referred to as the "shadow budget." Under this program, the government taps extra fundar. which ends March 31, 2000. The from the postal savings and insurbudget, which is expected to be ap- ance system and spends the money goes before Parliament next and other projects aimed at stim-

ulating the economy. Financing growth with debt could hardly be cheaper, for interest rates are just a sliver above zero. But the rising debt burden makes the govemment much more sensitive to increases in interest rates, which could.

lies with the current economic conlong-term tax cuts that are loweringhape ping up spending. Many are conditional transfer of this cerned that tax cuts now will be paid. fiscal year, the Japanese budget def- for with increases later. Consumeraare also worried that retooling the economy will mean that more companies will nudge workers off.

Taichi Sakaiya, head of the Economic Planning Agency, told reyear. That is second only to the debt porters that unemployment, now at a of Italy, which is bringing that bur-den down, just as Japan's debt is to rise for a while before slipping again in the second half of next

Advertisement INTERNATIONAL FUNDS To receive free daily quotations for your funds subscribe at: e-funds@ht\_com December 21, 1998 Katy Hourl: Fax (33-1) 41 43 92 12 or e-mail: fr

## INTERNATIONAL INVESTING

· Parihas SA, the fifth-largest bank in France, is expected by many investors to become the target of a takeover bid, sing the company's shares to sour. Though the bank has repeatedly said it intends to stay independent, its shares have risen by more than 60 percent in the last 11 weeks, but they gave back 2.2. francs Monday to close at 452.7 francs (\$8L07)\_\_

•For years, it was American insti-titional investors who ventured abroad. Now, according to a study by Citibank, the banking subsidiary of Citigroup, U.S. individuals held the majority of foreign stocks. The study found that individuals, either directly or through mutual funds, controlled 55 percent of U.S. investment in foreign stocks in 1997. By contrast, in 1991, individuals accounted for just 21 percent of that

• Speculation on Wall Street is rife Spout which company is going to get the speeted ticker symbol "A." which will soon become available with the completion of a merger of the present holder, Astra AB, the biggest drug company in Sweden, and Zeneca Group of Britain. Could it be Amazon.com Inc., the online bookseller that now trades under the symbol "AMZN"? Exchange officials will not say.

•U.S. fund management companies finally may be coming to grips with the fact that 5,250-plus stock and bond mutual funds are more than their customers -- or they themselves -- need. The number of stock and bond funds marketed in the United States has risen 3.7 percent in 1998, but the gain was about one-quarter the annual increase of 1996 and 1997. The slowdown comes as fund managers merge the assets of bundreds of existing funds with similarly manged funds and liquidate others because of poor performance. The slowdown in fund proliferation is occurring after five years of sharp growth, a period when the industry's assets ballooned to \$5 trillion

# Older Americans Invade the World of On-Line Investing

By David Barboza New York Times Service

NEW YORK - Every so often, late at night, David Woodland steals away to the den of his home in Aberdeen, Washington, so that he can check stock prices on the Internet.

Mr. Woodland, a 68-year-old retired insurance salesman, delights at how with the click of a mouse, he can tap into the facts and fortunes of Wall Street. "If I get a bright idea late at night."
Mr. Woodland said, "I go into the office, fire up
the computer and put a buy or sell order in."

While on line trading is popularly regarded as the province of day traders in their 20s and 30s, ping in and out of the market to make quick profits, it is now being invaded by millions of people like Mr. Woodland - seasoned investors who bring much larger accounts and more stability to this fast-growing corner of the markets.

Microsoft Corp. says more than 20 percent of the people who use its popular Microsoft Investor software are older than 50. E\*Trade Group Inc., the fast-growing on-line brokerage firm, says a quarter of its customers are over 55, up from 19 percent in

Older Americans' new interest in on-line investing has been felt on Wall Street, after all, no other group of Americans has so much money tied up in the stock market, and no other group has so much time to devote to finances. So traditional brokerage firms are scrambling to hold on to this important pool of customers.

"Our average client's age is in the upper 50s, so that is a large part of our client base," said Ellen Breslow, director of individual retirement planning services at Salomon Smith Barney.

On-line investors 55 and older are typically well educated and wealthy, according to At Plan, a market research firm that tracks consumer behavior on the Web. About 66 percent have college degrees; 35 percent have postgraduate degrees; about 23 percent have incomes of \$100,000 or more (compared with 18 percent for the entire American online adult population), and 28 percent manage an investment portfolio worth more than \$250,000.

"In the last 18 months, we've seen a real surge in the older generation," said Blake Darcey, chief executive of DLJ Direct, the fast-growing on-line from \$2.1 trillion. (Bloomberg, NYT) brokerage unit of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, based in Jersey City, New Jersey. "We had people financial adviser. I'm very analytical, and I like to putting in \$30,000, but now there are people bringin \$1 million." market, Mr. Siegel said, it could prove disastrous for retirees, who are so dependent on their savings. ing in \$1 million."

The low cost of doing business on-line — now as little as \$7 a trade — and the excitement of riding a bull market are the lures for many older investors -just as they are for the young. Plus, older investors are taking up the cyberspace totem of "empower-ment." They are dismissing their full-service brokers, who offer research and advice but often charge more than \$100 a trade, and instead are picking their own stocks, after downloading companies' annual reports and other research basics.

"These things are incredible tools, now in the hands of an individual investor," said Carol Potts, 56, a retired crafts designer in Santa Barbara, California. "There's no reason for me to have a

According to a survey this fall of 630 people over 50 by Charles Schwab & Co., many older investors say the Internet has made them more confident about their investments and more willing to trust their own judgment. But such confidence may also cause some to gamble away their re-

tirement nest eggs, financial experts warn. "Frankly, for many this is like on-line gambling," said Jeremy Siegel, a professor of finance at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. "It's almost like being at the blackjack table. People can get in and out immediately, and with a profit. And they can reverse their bet at any time." Of course, such a warning holds for investors of any age. But if stocks enter a bear

Others warn that older on-line investors could be vulnerable to stock fraud. The Securities and Exchange Commission in late October accused 44 stock promoters of fraudulently recommending stocks on the Internet.

The rush of seniors to on-line investing begins, of course, with computers and Internet access. The Schwab survey found that 40 percent of people over 50 had a home computer, up from 29 percent three years ago, and that 70 percent of those had Internet access at home, up from 17 percent in 1995. Jupiter Communications says more than 7 million people 55 or older were on-line this year, up from 3.8 million just two years ago. By 2002, the number is expected to grow to nearly 11 million.

# Goldman, Sachs Rules the Asian Takeover Market

By Jason Singer Bloomherg News

HONG KONG - Goldman, Sachs & Co., the biggest adviser in U.S. mergers and No. 2 in Burope, is dominating takeovers in Asia as clients from Procter & Gamble Co. to LSI Logic Corp. prowl for low-priced acquisitions in the region's

stumbling economies.

The biggest U.S. investment banking partnership, which ranked No. 24 last year in Asian mergers, beat out veterans Salomon Smith Barney Inc. and Morgan Stanley Dean Witter & Co. by handling 29 percent of all transactions that used advisers so far this year. It handled 15 mergers valued at \$10.4 billion, according to IFR Securities

Goldman's rise comes as cash-strapped companies across Asia, including Hyundai Electronics Industries Co. and San Miguel Corp., sell stakes for the first time to foreign companies. They are seeking foreign partners because other sources of finance have all but dried up, bankers said.

"What you're seeing is that assets that mul-tinationals have wanted to buy for years are becoming available," said David Anderson, managing director of Lazard Freres & Co., a firm that made its name advising on mergers in the United States and Europe and is now trying to break into the business in Asia.

Asian companies financed much of their growth in the past by using short-term funding to pay for long-term projects. As Asian currencies slumped during the past year, however, banks cut credit lines and refused to renew loans. Companies caught short of cash are now rushing to hire investment banks to help find a way to break the cycle.

"The business investment banks were doing was raising capital." Mr. Anderson said. "The crisis changed all that. Suddenly, companies found their capital structures didn't work, they were hugely overleveraged, and they needed to pay for

A total of \$35.8 billion of mergers have been completed so far this year in Asia, including Australia and excluding Japan, IFR Securities Data said. About \$44.2 billion of transactions have been announced, some of which may be completed before the end of the year. Even with those, Goldman is still set to take the top slot, the data firm

Last year, \$46.8 billion of mergers were ar-

ranged — 31 percent more than this year — and Schroders PLC led, advising on \$7.7 billion worth of transactions, a 16.4 percent market share. HSBC Holding PLC was second, followed by the now defunct Peregrine Investments Holdings Ltd.

Goldman, ranked 24, arranging only one \$237.6 million merger.

Now, the firm is benefiting by pairing top-tier clients from the United States and Europe with its local customers. Local banks, and those that specialized in emerging markets, are either going out of business or falling out of the rankings.

"Let there be no doubt: The merger business is at the core of our investment banking division worldwide," said Timothy Dattels, Goldman's Hong Kong-based head of Asian investment banking. "It is something that's dealt with at the chief executive level, and that's where we operate better than anybody in the world."

"Next year, I think you're going to see tre-mendous capital inflows," said Clive McDonnell, head of economic research at a Hong Kong unit of Societe Generale SA. "The due diligence for merger activity in the region has been done this year, so next year we'll start to see the money actually

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## **Asian Medalist Tests Positive**

DRUGS Asian Games officials said Monday that two United Arab Emirates competitors tested positive for drugs, bringing to four the number of doping cases during the event that ended Sunday. The Olympic Council of Asia

said the two were Fakruddin Taher, asilver medal winner in karate, and Abdulla Sabt, who finished last in his heat of the 400 meters hurdles.

OCA said both athletes tested positive for the stimulant ephedrine after their events Thursday. It said both were given cold medicine by (Reuters) team masseurs.

## Blue Jays Sign Pitcher

BASEBALL Joey Hamilton, a pitcher acquired by Toronto on Dec. 13, agreed Monday to a \$17 million, three-year contract with the Blue Jays. Hamilton, 28, was 13-13 last season with

## **Hammers Are Charged**

SOCCER Neil Ruddock and Trevor Sinclair of West Ham of the English Premier League were charged Monday after an incident involving damage to a woman's car after a party Sunday night. London police said Ruddock, a former England center back, had been charged with affray and Sinclair, a midfielder, with criminal damage.

## Creighton Beats Ex-Coach

COLLEGE BASKETBALL Creighton University honored former coach Eddie Sutton on Saturday and then beat him on Sunday.

Ryan Sears hit a 3-pointer with 57.7 seconds left as Creighton rallied to upset Sutton's current team, No. 18 Oklahoma State, 66-60. Sutton coached Creighton from

1969-74 and was feted at a Saturday night banquet.

# WORLD ROUNDUP Marauding Vikings Drub Jaguars, 50-10

Minnesota Gains Home Field for Playoffs

Cunningham, who broke his left hand

in the first quarter but stayed in until his

second touchdown pass to Glover made

it 26-3 late in the third quarter, has a

score to Randy Moss off a flea-flicker

on the second play of the second half.

Cunningham also threw a 43-yard

Brad Johnson, activated for the first

time since breaking his thumb against

Largent for second on the career list.

kicked a field goal with three seconds left to give New England victory over vis-

iting San Francisco. Scott Zolak, making

his first start in three years, led two

scoring drives in the final eight minutes as the Pats rallied from 21-14 down.

touchdown and ran for another.

Giants 28. Chiefs 7 Kent Graham, the New York quarterback, threw for a

The Giants had four interceptions and

Falcons 24, Lions 17 Jamal Anderson

four sacks and are 4-1 since Graham

replaced Danny Kaneli at quarterback.

National Football Conference west title

It was just the second division title in

Coach Dan Reeves, who had quad-

ruple heart bypass surgery last week,

missed the game in Detroit. The Fal-cons, with defensive coordinator Rich

Brooks acting as coach, fought back

from a 17-10 third-quarter deficit with

two touchdowns in the fourth quarter.

Cowboys 13, Eagles 9 Holder Eric Bjornson scored a touchdown on a fake

field goal and safety George Teague

made a saving fourth-down tackle late

in the game as Dallas clawed out a

victory over visiting Philadelphia.

team history for the Falcons (13-2), who

in 18 years and a first-round bye.

set a club record for victories.

Patriots 24, 49ers 21 Adam Vinatieri

career-best 32 touchdown passes.

MINNEAPOLIS - It was midway through the fourth quarter of victory No. 14. Jimmy Hitchcock had just returned an interception 30 yards to give the Minnesota Vikings a 43-3 lead over the

Jacksonville Jaguars.

The fans at the south end of the Metrodome started chanting "Super Bowl, Super Bowl" for the first time

That's how focused the Vikings have been. Even their fans waited

NFL ROUNDUP

until home-field advantage throughout the playoffs was in the bag before acting

too giddy.
The Vikings took care of that Sunday with a 50-10 victory over the Jaguars. Randall Cunningham threw three touchdown passes, two of them to Andrew Glover, as the Vikings (14-1) became the first team that plays in a domed stadium ever to earn home-field ad-

vantage for the postseason. The Metrodome was so loud Sunday that Jonathan Quinn, Jacksonville's rookie quarterback, used a timeout less than two minutes into the game because

he couldn't be heard above the din. It was all downhill from there for the Jaguars (10-5), who clinched the first AFC Central title in their four-year history earlier in the day when Tennessee lost at Green Bay.

Jacksonville crossed midfield twice in the first half, managed just 13 yards and no first downs in the third quarter and reached Minnesota territory only once in the second half. The Jaguars committed four turnovers, two of them interceptions by Quinn, leading to 26 Minnesota points.

The Vikings scored 38 points in the second half and, with one regular-season game to play, they are the second-highest scoring team in NFL history. Minnesota has scored 530 points; in 1983 the Washington Redskins scored 541.

Cardinals 19, Saints 17 In Phoenix, Jake Plummer, the Arizona quarterback, led a last-minute desperation drive that set up Chris Jacke's 36-yard field goal on the final play and ended New Orleans' chances of reaching the playoffs.

Seahawks 27, Cotts 23 Seattle, eliminated from the playoffs.

inated from playoff contention earlier in the day, rallied at home in the fourth quarter on touchdowns from Ricky Watters and Shawn Springs. Watters, who set a career high with

178 yards on 32 carries, scored on a 33yard run with 9:19 to go to close Seattle to 23-17. Then Phillip Daniels forced Marshall Faulk to fumble, and Springs ed up the bouncing ball and ran yards to the end zone.

Raiders 17, Chargers 10 In San Diego, Wade Wilson, making just his third start since 1996, threw touchdown passes to James Jett and Tim Brown on consecutive possessions in the second quarter, as Oakland snapped a fourgame losing streak.

The Chargers lost their fourth straight game, and quarterback Craig Whelihan



The Atlanta Falcons' Chuck Smith celebrating an interception of a rushed for 147 yards and scored two touchdowns as Atlanta clinched its first Detroit Lions pass in the closing minutes of the game. The Falcons won.

## 10 Teams in Playoffs at Season's Close

With a week to go in the National Football League regular season, 10 teams are in the playoffs. Five more are competing for the last two spots. In the American Football Conference, New England, Buffalo and

Jacksonville joined the Denver Broncos and the New York Jets in the playoffs Sunday. The Patriots, the Bills, who lost Saturday to the Jets, and the Jaguars all

made it when Tennessee lost at Green Bay on Sunday afternoon. That result also gave the Jaguars the AFC Central title. They celebrated by losing, 50-10, to Minnesota on Sunday night.
The final AFC playoff berth is be-

tween Miami (9-5) and Tennessee. Miami played Denver on Monday and is at Atlanta next week. A victory in either game would put Miami in the

threw two interceptions, giving him 13

and Tampa Bay lose. Antonio Freeman connected on three long touchdown plays on a snowy day in Green Bay. It was the first time in more

playoffs. If they lose both and Tennessee (8-7) beats Minnesota at home

next Saturday, the Oilers will make

West by beating Detroit while Dallas won the NFC East by holding off

Philadelphia. Minnesota has home

field throughout with San Francisco

and Green Bay in as wild-cards. They

Arizona (8-7), Tampa Bay (7-8) and the New York Giants (7-8). The Car-

dinals hqualify if they beat San Diego

at home in their final game. If Arizona

loses and both the Giants and Bucs

lose, the Cards go through. Tampa Bay must win at Cincinnati and hope

Arizona loses. The Giants must win at

Philadelphia and hope both Arizona

The last wild-card spot is between

will meet in a first-round game.

In the NFC, Atlanta clinched the

Bengals 25, Steelers 24 In Pittsburgh rallied to break a nine-game losing streak and eliminate the Steelers from 367 yards passing. It is the first time in

# **Zidane Wins** Ballon d'Or As Europe's Soccer No. 1

PARIS - Zinedine Zidane, who scored twice for France in the final of the World Cup, completed a successful year Monday when he won the pressingious Ballon d'Or award as the bell. soccer player in Europe.

In the voting by European journalists, Zidane collected 244 points, well ahead

WORLD SOCCER

of Davor Suker, the top scorer in the World Cup, who gained 68 points. Last year's winner, Ronaldo, was a further two points back. The award is presented by France Football magazine.

As well as guiding his country to victory in the World Cup, Zidane, a 26-year-old midfielder, steered his club, Inventus, to the Italian championship and the final of the European Champions League, where it lost to Suker's Real Madrid.

Zidane was also voted sports personality of the year by the Reuters news agency on Monday.

 Charles Bietry resigned Monday president of Paris Saint Germain, the French first division team. The team is 11th in the 18-team league.

"I am responsible and to blame," added Bietry, who succeeded Michel Denisot at the end of last season.

BRAZE Comminans of Sao Paulo and

Cruzeiro of Belo Horizonte drew, 1-1, in Sao Paulo in the second leg of the three-match Brazilian championship final on Sunday. The two teams drew, 2-2, in the first game in Belo Horizonte.
The deciding match is in Sao Paulo on Wednesday. Corinthians, which had a better regular-season record, needs only a draw to win the title.

colonna Deportivo Cali won the Colombian championship when it drew, 0-0, at Caldas in the second leg of the final Caldas, from the city of Manizales, had the best overall record and led the championship from the start, but lost the first leg of the final, 4-0, in (AP, AFP, Reuters)



# **New Addition Stimulates Kings**

Donald Audette scored on his first shift of the season and his first since

joining the Los Angeles Kings. Audette was acquired in a deal with Buffalo on Friday. His goal put Los Angeles on the path to a 4-1 victory over the Blackhawks in Chicago on Sunday.

NHL ROUNDUP

"It was nice to get the first one out of the

way, 'Audette said. Audette is a 10-year NHL veteran who was acquired by Los Angeles for a second-round 1999 draft pick. He led the Sabres in goals last season with 24 but had held out this season over a contract dispute.

Audette opened the scoring at 1:38 of the first period by driving his own re-bound past Chicago goaltender Jocelyn Thibault from the edge of the crease. Glen Murray scored two goals and Luc Poblitaille added one for the Kings Robitaille added one for the Kings.

Stars 3, Senators 2 Tony Hrkac scored the winner late in the second and Roman Turek stopped 27 shots as Dallas won in Ottawa to extend its unbeaten streak to eight games.

Coyotes 4, Islanders 2 Keith Tkachuk scored a power-play goal with 5:20 re-maining as Phoenix beat the New York Islanders, extending its home unbeaten streak to 11 games.

Lightning 2, Flyers 2 Wendel Clark scored at 10:39 of the third period to give Tampa a tie in Philadelphia.

in three games. hers 20. Rams 13 Steve Beuer-

Herald Eribune

SPORTS

lein's 68-yard touchdown pass to backup tight end Luther Broughton with visiting St. Louis. In games reported in late editions, Monday:

> string tailback James Allen, making his first NFL start, got 135 of his 163 yards in the first half with bursts of 57 and 54 yards as the Bears ended a six-game losing streak by beating Baltimore. Packers 30, Oilers 22 Brett Favre and

won two straight games. straight playoff berth Saturday when Washington beat Tampa Bay. Bears 24, Ravens 3 In Chicago, third-

Cincinnati blew a 13-point lead, but playoff contention behind Jeff Blake's Bill Cowher's seven years as coach that Pittsburgh has not made the playoffs.

# than two months that the Packers had Zidane holding the World Cup.

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HOLLANDE (20162) NEGA - TVA 17,5% GO: 1,181 FOD: 0,733 SC97: 1,821 SCSP: 1,770 LUXEMBOURG en LUF/I - TVA 15%

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## INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1998

## **SPORTS**

lermann Maier clearing a gate Monday on his way to a Super-G victory it Innsbruck. He and his Anstrian teammates took the top nine spots.

# Maier Leads Home Sweep Of Super-G at Innsbruck

INNSBRUCK, Austria — Hermann Maier followed in the tracks of his hero Franz Klammer, leading a record Ausrian sweep of the top nine places in a World Cup Super-G in front of 20,000

oaring fans on Monday.

It was the first major race on Innsmuck's Patscherkofel slope since
Klammer's downhill run for 1976 Olympic gold. In the race on Monday, he Austrians gave the most dominant performance by one country in 31 years of World Cup history.

French women had held the previous record when they took the top six spots in a downhill in Abetone, Italy, in

"I was miles away from the ideal line," said Maier. "I was so tired and was so wide going around the gates, I

felt and must have looked like Franz Klammer in the '76 Olympics.''

Skiers who compete in multiple disciplines have had a punishing schedule with four races — two downbills and one giant slalom in Italy as well as the Innsbruck Super-G — in four days. Maier picked up his third season victory with a time of 1 minute, 23.52 seconds, to take the lead in the overall

standings from Lasse Kjus of Norway.

Maier beat Christian Mayer by 0.76 seconds, while Fritz Strobl, who was the 45th man down the course, edged Stephan Eberharter out of third. The top non-Austrian was Lasse Paulsen of Norway, with a time of 1:24.53.

• Fog and heavy overnight snow forced the postponement of a World Cup women's Super-G event Megeve, France, on Monday.

# Just Who Are the Members of the Arcane IOC?

## Bribery Allegations Suddenly Raise International Olympic Committee's Visibility

By Christopher Clarey International Herald Tribune

EVILLE, Spain — The International Olympic Committee has 102 male members and 12 female members. It has royalty with seniority and royalty with only a few months on

the job.

It has four generals from Africa, two brothers from Mexico, lots of businesspeople and lawyers from all corners and a few bona fide Olympic heroes such as Jean-Claude Killy, the French skier, Anton Geesink, the Dutch judoist and Vera Caslavska, the Czech gymnast.

It also has a serious problem: It is under internal and external scrutiny because of allegations that members have accepted bribes in return for votes for cities vying to host the Games. While the IOC has never been eager to allow more than glimpses into its workings.

curiosity is now rising rapidly.

Just what is the IOC? How does one become a member? How does one become an influential member? And who are the members of this organization that has existed since June 1894 when Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France called a meeting in a Paris anditorium that was appropriately decorated with neo-classical murals?

Two members are Americans: Anita DeFrantz, a sports administrator and former Olympic rower who is the highest-ranking woman in an organization that did not elect female members until 1981; and James Easton, a sporting-goods manufacturer and president of the International Archery Federa-

Italy, with nowhere near the population or commercial clout of the United States, has four members: Ottavio Cinquanta, president of the International Skating Union; Primo Nebiolo, president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation; Franco Carraro and Mario Pescante, who re-

ell 78, Colgate 63 Ide 119, Long Island V. 61 Dington 51, 84, Ideba 69

WOMEN

scandal involving a discredited drugtesting laboratory in Rome. Pescante remains a perquisite-enjoying member of the IOC

There have indeed been perks: firstclass flights to the cities that bid for the Olympics every two years and first-class treatment in those locales; choice

## VANTAGE POINT

seats and choice lodging at the Olympics themselves and at least one annual meeting - referred to as "the session" - in a major city that rarely represents a hardship destination.

Although their travel and IOC business expenses are reimbursed, members do not receive salaries. They are volunteers, if remarkably coddled volunteers. Even Juan-Antonio Samaranch, the Spaniard who has been the IOC's president for the last 18 years, does not receive a paycheck for his work.

The IOC is based in Lansanne,

Switzerland, because its founder, Baron de Coubertin, moved the organization there from his home country in April 1915, during World War L It remains in Lausanne because Samaranch decided to keep it there after becoming president in 1980, despite offers from Paris, Madrid, his native Barcelona and another Swiss city, Zurich.

There is no clear track to becoming a full-fledged IOC member. A handful of international federation presidents, such as Cinquanta and Nebiolo, are ex-officio members who hold their seats for as long as they remain in office. Some IOC members, such as Gerhard Heiberg of Norway and Killy of France have been co-opted into the organization after running successful Winter Olympic Organizing Committees. Heiberg headed the Lillehammer games

in 1994 and Killy was co-chairman of the Albertville games in 1992. Alex Gilady of Israel was co-opted

Tarpishev of Russia was once Boris Yeltsin's private tennis coach and later became Russia's minister of sports. Prince Albert of Monaco is a former Olympic bobsledder and provides a bit of glitter for Samaranch, who has a weakness for aristocrats and holds the title of marquis himself.

Other royal members include Princess Anne of Britain, an Olympic gold medalist in equestrian events who is no Samaranch fan, and Prince Faisal Fahd Abdulaziz of Saudi Arabia's ruling family. Prince Henri of Luxembourg and the Prince of Orange of the Netherlands were voted in last winter. There is no official nomination process for members, although the Soviet Union did once essentially impose a member,

Konstantin Andrianov, in 1951. The IOC relishes its independence, which was one of Coubertin's primary concerns because he believed the ancient games had been destroyed by outside influences. The Olympic charter states that IOC members are "its representatives in their respective countries and not delegates of their countries within the IOC."

"It's true that the IOC has always seemed very anachronistic." Maurice Herzog of France, who retired in 1994 after 24 years in the IOC. "It lives among itself. The members are like cardinals in the Vatican. Governments come and go, it doesn't matter to us."

Of the 114 current members, 48 are from Europe, 21 from the Americas, 20 from Africa, 20 from Asia and 5 from

'We function as a state," Samaranch said recently. "We have a president, a government in the form of the executive board, a parliament in the form of the general membership and an administration which is rather youthful and

The executive board, created in 1921 and known within the IOC as the "EB,"

cently resigned as president of the Italian feer helping NBC, the U.S. network, is essentially the organization's board of an Olympic Committee because of a negotiate television contracts. Shamil directors. Made up of 11 members, including Samaranch and four vice presidents, it meets four times a year and manages the IOC's affairs, overseeing finances, presenting proposals to the session for changes in rules or bylaws, and, perhaps most important, deciding which new members to propose to the session. These new members are generally approved by acclamation and not by a formal vote, which is a clear indication of the influence of Samaranch and the executive board.

Executive board members are elected by the session in a secret ballot.

Terms last four years and the executive board includes long-influential members such as Dick Pound of Canada, Pal Schmitt of Hungary, Judge Keba Mbaye of Senegal, Kevan Gosper of Australia, Kim Un Yong of South Korea - a former embassy intelligence officer who is head of the World Tackwondo Federation - and Marc Hodler of Switzerland, who made a series of allegations about corruption in the Olympic voting process at an executive board meeting in Lausanne earlier this month.

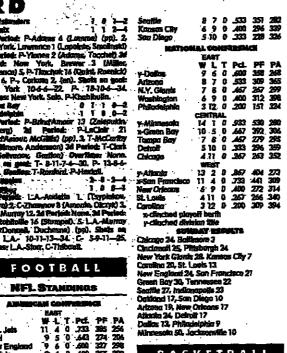
Despite the continuity that characterizes the IOC, Samaranch has reshaped the body in the last five years, adding 42 members and bringing the total membership well above 100. Many of the new members are sports administrators or federation presidents whom Samaranch wanted in the fold to ensure the IOC's continued relevance.

"The mass of new members has changed the family feeling within the IOC quite a bit." Herzog said. "I think it's positive because we have to be associated with the international federations. But the discreet side, the Vatican side of the IOC, has changed a lot. These are sports professionals coming in."

 Samaranch said during the weekend that IOC members will no longer be allowed to visit cities bidding for the Olympics. The Associated Press reported from London, He did not elaborate.

## SCOREBOARD







International 11, Oregon St. 11, UC Santo Barbaro 9, Arizona 8, Mississippi St. 7, Tutone Bartuno 9, Arizono 8, Mississippi St. 7, Tutone 7, DePaul 6, LSU 6, Hawali 3, Oregon 3, Utah 3, Arizonsas Z Indiano 2, Baylor 1, Stephen F. CRICKET SOUTH APRICA A VS. WEST DID MORDAY IN PRETERM West Indies: 375 South Africa A: 188-4 MENU TIALANA YI VE, MINIAN YI

ONLY DAY IDOMESTICS MCHEAY IN WELLINGTON IONE XI: 304-6 Inmings clos New Zeoland XI won by 66 rats. England: 469-6 declared and 166-2. Australian XI: 293-4 declared.

> WORLD CUP mann Maier, Austria, 1:23.52. Stian Mayer, Austria, 1:24.28. 3. Fritz Shobl, Austria, 1:24-29. 5. Roiner Sotzgeber, Austria, 124.32.
> 6. Hami Komuss, Austria, 124.33.
> 7. Pointick Wirth, Austria, 1:24.39.
> 8. Anthews Schifferer, Austria, 1:24.43.
> 9. Wenner Fronz, Austria, 1:24.43.
> 10. Lause Paulsen, Narway, 1:24.53.

SKIING

gi.Pgm-& juffer 3 monet: 1, Maler, 280: 2, Eberharter, 230; 3. Mayer, 152: 4. Knows, 125: 5. Salzgeber, 119: 6. Lasse Kjus. Norway,

540 points: 2. Kius. 537; 3. Mayer. 462; 4. Eberharter. 453; 5. Anmodt. 425; 6. Schillerer. 254; 7. Knayss. 239; 8. Thomas Stan-Austria, 214: 9. Michael Van Gru-itzerland, 210: 10. Franz, 198.

## SOCCER DUTCH FIRST DIVISION

DUTCAL FIRST BYSSON
NEC Nijmegen 0 Forkuns Silbrot 3
srzakosnośs: Feyenoord 43 points:
Vitesse Arnhem 37: Ajox Arnsterdom 34;
Heerevisen 32: Roda DC Keyknośc 31; PSV
Eindhoven 31; Twente Enschede 30: Az Alknośc 28: NEC Nijmegen 27; Utrecht 25;
Wilsem II Tilbung 25; Combuur Leevworden
21; MVV Maossiricht 20: Gerodschop DoesInches 18: Eschus Silbrot 12: Soveth Pric

hydan, 15; NAC Bredo 13; RKC Wo SPANISH FERST DIVILION Vennous y successor in the Color State of the Vigo 25: Volencia 25: Deportive Coruna 24: Oviceo 24: Alierico Madrid 22: Athieric Silboo 22: Real Madrid 22: Barcelona 22: Real Sociedad 22: Real Zaragoza 21: Villareal 19: Real Beris 19: Rociny Santander 18: Vollacid 18: Espanyol 17: Alaves 15: Salamanca 15: Tenerife 13: Estremadura 12:

TALLAN FREST DIVISION

Unter Milion 4 AS Rome 1
STANDHINGS: Florenting 29 points; Parma 25; AC Milion 25; Inter Milion 24: AS Rome 21: Lozio 23; Bologno 21; Juventus 21: Perugia 19: Bont 18: Pieceaza 16: Udinese 16: Copitari
14: Summiria 14: Funosi 12: Vicenza 17:

SCOTTISM PREMIER LEADUR armack 2. Dunder United 0 Brazilian Championship Frial

SECOND LEG

SECOND LEG

Contribions 1, Cruzeiro 1

Final is played over 3 legs and is decided on

(1) points (2) goal aggregate and (3) first
stage record. First leg drawn 2-2. Contribions
have batter first stage record.

HOW DOES HE PAY FOR THE RAW MATERIALS HE USES TO MAKE THE TOYS? HOW DOES HE PAY HIS ELVES?

## TRANSITIONS BASSBÂLL

ANAMEUA—Traded C Marti Carrick to St.
Louis to complete an earlier deal for RHP
Mark Petitovisek. Agreed to terms with RHP
Tim Belicher on 2-year contract with dub option for 2001. Announced INF Paca Martin
and LHP Atlen Wolson with not be affered

Mobiler on 3-year contract.
CLEVELAND—Agreed to terms with RHP
Jeny Sprodlin on 2-year contract.

TA-Designated SS Pat Meares sent. Agreed to terms with RHP RHP Juse Espiral of walvers from Chicago.

OAKLAND—Agreed to terms with C Mike
Maciantone on 1-year contract.

SEATTLE—Agreed to terms with LHP Butch
Henry to 1-year contract. Chaimed OF Moft
Mileske off walvers from Chicago.

TAMPA BAY—Agreed to terms with LHP

TAMPA BAY—Agreed to terms with LHP Scott Alford on 1-year contract.

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TERAS—Agreed to terms with RHP Ball Risky on 1-year contract.

ARTONAL LEAGUE

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CHICAGO—Agreed to terms with INF
CHICAGO—Agreed To 1-year contract.

Necessary Agrees for Showing Dollos F
Neuwendyk on Dec. 18.

BUFFALO—Traded RW Donald Audelti
Los Angeles Kings for 1999 2d-mund 4

TO COMER WIS

Valdes and LHP Tim Young.

NATIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE GREEN BAY—Signed FB Jim Kiris, Placed C Fronk Winters on injured reserve. INDIANAPOLIS—Walved RB Kaninay Barber. JACKGRYLLE—Signed S Blaine McElmurry. MJAMI—Signed QB Dan Gorzalez. NEW ENGLAND-Signed FB CB Groce, Pu

ifter contract to RHP Keith Glouber.

COLDRADO—Agneed to berms with C Kith

Lonworing on 1-year contract.

FLORIDA—Announced resignation of Don

miley, president, effective at end of year.

HOUSTON—Declined to offer contract to

HIP Ramon Garcia.

ALLWAUKEE—Released OF Marc New
Zigmund Potify on 5-year contract.

**QUE5**5

SURE, BUT SOONER OR LATER IT'S

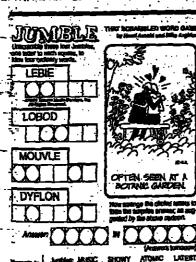
COME TO CATCH

THEN WHERE WILL

## **DENNIS THE MENACE**



"SCUSE ME, BUT CAN YOU HELP HE TALK"



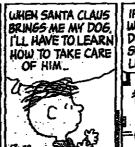


## **PEANUTS**



IF YOU PEEK AT YOUR PRESENT, I'LL TELL SANTA

GARFIELD





















HOLIDAY CHEER IN THE

BUSINESS PISTRICT

man of the first the management considers the commence of the

CALVIN AND HOBBES

I DON'T UNDERSTAND HOW

SANTA RUNS HIS OPERATION. HON CAN HE AFFORD TO GIVE













## ART BUCHWALD

# And for the Sequel?

NEW YORK — The meet-ing took place in the of-has done. He apologizes to his fice of the head of Zenith Pic-

Attending was Robert Voldish, the studio head: Gerry Lezell, a screenwriter; and her agent, Michael Overt. 'Give it to me fast," Voldish says. "My trainer hates

for me to be "This is a Washington picture, Bob. But it has a lot of twists."

"I know all about Washington pictures. Buchwald

The president commits a sexual act and lies about it, so Congress im-

with the same theme."
"Wait, Bob," says Overt.
"This is different. The president in our story has an affair with a female Secret Service agent and is caught by an intern in the war room in a competern in the war room in a competer in the war room in a competer in the war room in the w promising situation. She is be the Secret Service agent, appalled and goes to Helen and Nicole Kidman would Thomas and tells her every-portray the president's wife.

Gerry picks it up. "That is where the script departs from others. Confronted by the intern's story, the president Gerry replies, "Doesn't goes on Barbara Walters's everybody?"

wife, to the country and to the Secret Service, not necessarily in that order."
Voldish says, "That's great.

But what's your second act?"
Gerry says, "Nobody will believe him. The Republicans accuse him of trying to get the sympathy of the country by confessing to a high crime and misdemeanor he didn't commit. They demand he resign unless he admits he made the whole thing up.
"The Democrats leak sto-

ries to the press that the president has had affairs with other women, so he would never lie about this one.

peaches him and the country goes to hell. I've got 30 scripts about what happens to someone in the White House when he tells the truth and no

one will believe him.'

'Titanic' grosses.' "Does the president get impeached?'

## The Return of D'Oyly Carte

New York Times Service ONDON - The D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, named for Richard D'Oyly Carte, who commissioned William S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan in 1875 to write a one-act operetta, "Trial by Jury," is putting down roots again in

After a century at the Savoy Theatre, the company ground to a halt in 1982, and six years later it was resurrected, in Birmingham, England.

Now, for the first time in 10 years, it is appearing in London's West End, opening on Monday night at the Queen's Theatre with a production of "The Pirates of Penzance," which will run through Jan. 9.

# In Search of a Poet Laureate: Anyone Interested?

By Sarah Lyall
New York Times Service

ONDON - The job pays about \$165 a year, plus a case of Spanish sherry. It is meant to be a great honor, but is often considered faintly embarrassing. In the last 15 years it has required an unironic belief in the grave national importance of events like the wedding of the Duke of York and Sarah

Why on earth would anyone want to be Britain's poet laureate? "That would be my question as well," said Christopher Reid, poetry editor at Faber & Faber, which publishes some of Britain's bestknown poetry. "It seems to me a pretty pointless kind of job."

With the death in October of Ted Hughes, the poet laureate since 1984, the position and the job description are now wide open. While some of Britain's higher-profile poets have removed their names from consideration with all the passion of teenagers who think the student council is for nerdy teacher's pets, others are gently letting it be known that if appointed, they would serve.

Perhaps the most frequently mentioned candidate is Andrew Motion, a poet, critic and biographer who is the professor of creative writing at the University of East Anglia. In the last 18 months he has raised his own profile and helped bring poetry to the public's attention by publishing poems in national newspapers marking the deaths of Diana, Princess of Wales, and Hughes, a longtime friend.

Other poets in the running are Wendy Cope, whose work tends to poke fun at pretension, particularly that of other poets; Benjamin Zephaniah, who attacks social injustice in often playful tones that draw heavily on West Indian speech and culture, and U.A. Fanthorpe, who seemed to all but at 50," an ode to Prince Charles on his birthday, in The Guardian.



Ted Hughes, receiving the Order of Merit from Queen Elizabeth shortly before his death.

Guardian has taken up Fanthorpe's would want to take the job, other candidacy, encouraging her to submit poems for every occasion.

(Last week it published her poem about road rage.) "She's liked by people who don't read any poetry, and she's acceptable." What exactly would the new landard of the company of the street when old views mit poems for every occasion.
(Last week it published her poem
about road rage.) "She's liked by
people who don't read any poetry,
and she's accessible," said the
newspaper's deputy arts editor,
Fischer Cibber and meetion. Fiachra Gibbons, who went on, rather confusingly, to say that the job is about producing embar-

rassingly bad poetry."

Spurred by Fanthorpe's new high profile, William Hill, Britain's biggest betting agency, has raised her chances of being made

would say the time has content give with a view of the laureate. In the United States, the laureate serves for one year at a time, gets an office with a view of the Capitol and laureate to 16-1, from 50-1.

The agency's favorite candidate is Motion, with odds of 6-4, followed closely by Cope (4-1) and James Fenton (5-1), the professor apply for the post when she was James Fenton (5-1), the professor moved to publish "A Brief Résumé of poetry at Oxford University, who appeared to rule himself out

reate do, at a time when old views of Britain and the monarchy that serves as its figurehead are rapidly changing? Some people in the poetry world say the time has come to give the post an overhanl, perhaps cre-ating an American-style laureate.

earns a respectable salary of \$35,000. (Hughes's job as poet lau-reate earned him half as much a year as Britain's first official laureate, John Dryden — and £200 went a lot further in the 17th century.)

Maybe Britain's laureate should s birthday, in The Guardian. when he told The Observer of Lon-serve for a fixed term instead of For reasons of its own, The don, "I can think of people who until death, critics say. And maybe

from the job's chief unstated burden: churning out quick poetry that,
harking back to the days when poets
depended on the patronage of the
monarch, celebrates events like royal birthdays and royal weddings.
Although the job has been filled
over the years by some of Britain's.

Although the job has been filled over the years by some of Britain's poetic heavyweights, including Ben Jonson, who held the post unofficially, as well as Dryden, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Cecil Day-Lewis and John Betjeman, it

has rarely inspired their best work. John Masefield, who beat out Rudyard Kipling for the job in 1930, suffered under the impression that he had to compose an ode to mark the monarch's return to Britain after each foreign trip. He also had such low regard for his talent that when he submitted his poems to The Times of London, the

always enclosed a stamped, self-

addressed envelope.

Perhaps the most notorious example of laureate poetry came daring an illness of the Prince off
Wales, who later became King Edward VII. The laureate, Alfred Austin, who took the job in 1896, is said, perhaps apocryphally, to have

Across the wires the electric message came "He is no better, he is much the

Hughes became laureate after another poet, Philip Larkin, turned the job down. Although he was considered a great poet whose reputation was immortalized by his reputation was introduced by its last work, "Birthday Letters" and "Tales From Ovid," Hughes generally confounded his supporters with his royal poems.

When Prince Andrew, the Duke of York, married Ferguson, Hughes wrote, among other things.
"A helicopter snatched you up or
The pilot, it was me." (The marriage ended in divorce.) On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Oneen Elizabeth's coronation, he said her corgis were the same color as the Lion of England. And when the queen mother turned 95, he likened her to an old oak tree whose "crown of oak leaves amplifies/ Aglobal marketplace."

The writer and critic Blake Morrison, who admired Hughes, said: "It did him no good. I think his." reputation went backward as a result of being laureate. People ridiculed him. Even his admirers found his laureate poems impenetrable or disappointing, and then, thank God, he produced some wonderful work in the last three years."

Perhaps, said the poet Tom Paniin (33-1), the post should be re-defined "as a way of embodying a kind of multicultural national spir-it" that would reflect, rather than ignore, contemporary Britain.

One imagines a Virgilian poet m a postmodern era," Would he consider taking the job? "Oh, absolutely not, no," he said. laureate's de facto house organ, he "I wouldn't, not at all, no."



PRIZE MUSICIAN - The German violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter, the winner of this year's Shostakovich Award, performing in Moscow.

A FTER less than two years on the job, the first woman conductor of the Vienna Boys Choir is gone. What caused boys Choir is gone. What caused choir's 500th year.

Boys Choir," Schenk said. The public feed has marred celebrations marking the choir's feed has marred celebrations marking the choir's 500th year.

Boys Choir, Schenk said. The public feed has marred celebrations marking the choir's 500th year.

Choir is gone. What caused choir's 500th year.

Boys Choir, Schenk said. The public feed has marred celebrations marking the choir's 500th year.

Choir is gone. What caused choir's 500th year. the break between Agnes Grossmann and the "Old Boys" — the former choir members who run the organization depends on who is telling the story. Grossmann says she quit after a sucwas "running up against a wall" of resistance to her ideas. She wanted to add a fifth choir to help spread the way." fifth choir to help spread the workload of about 300 concerts a year now shared by four choirs of about 25 boys each, but the president and board of directors said no. In addition, Grossmann says the board refused to consider her suggestions that mostly self-supporting organization seek sponsors and state support. The choir's president, Karl-Heinz Schenk, faults Grossmann for the performance burden, saying she scheduled too many concerts and demanded too much from the boys. And he says the issue of financing fell outside her job as artistic

director. "The trouble with Mrs. Gross-

mann is at some point she began to be-

So how did Assistant Secretary of landed on his ankle. Nex State James Rubin chip his ankle durknow, he's in the hospital. ing a recent Paris trip? Seems he and his

her up. Rubin was dancing in the street. when he jumped over a pile of boxes and landed on his ankle. Next thing you

# Rome's mayor, Francesco Rutelli, is

## The Last Dance at the Rainbow Room

**PEOPLE** 

NEW YORK — It was a place so classy that Keith Richards wore a necktie.

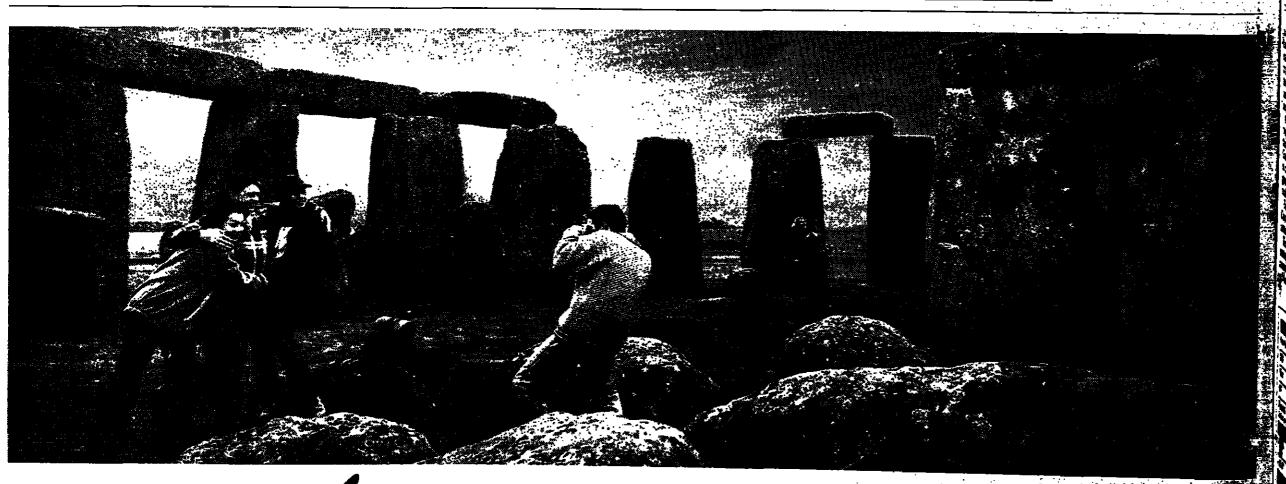
A place so full of stars that one evening Bob Dylan and Frank Sinatra came. trately for drinks. Clooney's wedding.

But the Rainbow Room has danced its last dance For the first time since a big remodeling in the 1980s, there won't be a stroke of-midnight conga line snaking through the club on New Year's Eve. After 64 years, the gilded, glass-walled supper club that boasted breathtaking views from the 65th floor has closed because of a dispute over a new lease.

The new leaseholder is the Cipriani family, which plans to open a smaller space similar to Harry's Bar in Venice, which the family also owns, and turn the rest of the multiroom complex into private banquet rooms.

Popolo spend three days cleaning up the square. Less than two weeks after the mayor banned cars from the piazza, the 17-year-old student was caught by security guards vandalizing the lion on a stone fountain. The youth, who had come to Rome to join a protest against public funds for private schools, told the police he was carving his girlfriend's initials.

The last two descendants of Alends Zorbas, the legendary traveler whose hist for life inspired the character have been awarder Greek citizenship. At a recent ceremony, Zorbas's grandchildren, Anna Geiger, 57, and Vangelis Yantas, 63, became Greek citizens though both live in Belgrade, Yugoslavia's capital. Zorbas became famous when he was portrayed by Anthony Quinn in the 1964 movie "Zorba the Greek," based on the book by the Cretan-born author Nikos



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